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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1897.

The Week.

The action of the Ohio Silver Republicans in endorsing the Democratic State ticket has again set the Republicans appealing for the support of the Gold Democrats. Senator Hanna and Gov. Bushnell realize that it would be an uncommonly handy thing to have the Gold Democratic vote this November, as they had it last. But are they not a trifle late about making this discovery? Are they not, in fact, guilty of something very like impudence and indecency in now asking the aid of men whom they have improved their months of power to insult in speech and offend in legislation? It has been great fun for Hanna's man Grosvenor to sneer at Mugwumps and gird at civil-service reform; the party has had a fine time paying off its debts with the tariff and dodging currency reform; but it is sacred simplicity to turn around now and ask for the continued support of the very men who feel themselves flouted and betrayed. At the precise instant that Platt's newspaper is calling upon the Gold Democrats of New York to support Platt against Bryanism, Platt's Collector of the Port peremptorily dismisses from office the Gold Democrat who has been serving as cashier of the custom-house. This is neither magnificent nor is it war. The fact is that the course of the Republicans on the currency has been marked, since the election, by such vacillation and insincerity that they have lost all title to the support of Democrats devoted to the gold standard. Why should a new set of promises be trusted when the old was so shamelessly violated? No; the Gold Democrats in Ohio and all other States must run a ticket of their own, and avoid fresh betrayals. The question of what candidates for the Legislature should be supported will have to be settled in each district on its own merits.

One of the difficulties encountered by a "progressive" party is that of progressing in a uniform way. Some members of the party want to advance faster than others, and it is hard work to keep them together. The Ohio Populists seem to have been embarrassed by this difficulty in their recent convention. Some of them wanted to be conservative and consult expediency by combining with the Democrats. Others preferred devotion to principle above the allurements of success, and as they were in the majority they insisted that their comrades should fall into line. The controversy that followed was marked

by fraternal freedom of speech. The hypocrisies of parliamentary procedure were discarded, and the opinions which politicians frequently hold of one another, but do not publicly proclaim, were on this occasion frankly expressed. The "Middle-of-the-Road" element accused their temporizing brethren of being paid by John R. McLean to favor fusion with the Democrats. The fusionists retorted that the advanced element was paid by Senator Hanna to nominate a straight Populist ticket, and they followed up the charge by producing a check for \$25 signed by Major Dick, who is in charge of Senator Hanna's canvass. The holder of this check said it was given him for services to be rendered in defeating fusion, but he had abstained from cashing it because he wanted to use it as evidence that Major Dick was debauching Populists. The Rev. J. A. Taylor testified that Major Dick had given him a check for \$25 for the same purpose, but that he had cashed it and spent the money. The discussion became so animated, and the charges of falsehood and corruption so plainly sincere and truthful, as to lead to personal assaults, and the police had to be called in to enable the delegates to make their imputations against one another audible. Finally the orthodox element prevailed, adopted a platform which is a logical development of that adopted by the Democrats at Chicago, and nominated "General" Coxey for Governor. The nominee for Judge of the Supreme Court very properly assured the convention that if he was elected, no injunction against anarchy or anything else should be issued. This is the class of people to which the Democratic party last year surrendered its organization.

A belated *Congressional Record* prints a belated speech of Congressman Grosvenor's on "Civil Service Run Mad." Some of the virus must have got into Grosvenor himself, for he has clear symptoms of rabies. He pictures civil-service reformers "fawning at the feet of power," and demanding that the President shall not appoint so much as a "messenger to guard the archives of his own executive office" without the consent of his "malignant enemies" of the Civil-Service Commission. This is running mad indeed, and no wonder that Grosvenor's fury rises as he contemplates the President, by his recent order extending the merit system, actually giving his malignant enemies still more power over appointments. Grosvenor forgives McKinley for this, but serves notice that at the coming session of Congress the whole nefarious law shall be cut up by the roots. His idea is one of masterly simplicity. Let Congress-

men certify the fitness of candidates for office, and so do away with these cumbersome examinations which "smother the voice of the people." At the close of his speech, Grosvenor worked around slyly to his own district. He nobly avowed that it did not "lower his sense of personal dignity" to rally old and young and promise each an office; whatever may be the case with other Congressmen, he has not yet reached the point of "contempt for his constituents," but is, on the contrary, "always willing and anxious to aid them to secure the blessings and emoluments of the administration of the government." It is declared that this speech will make Grosvenor the "chief idol" of his Ohio partisans. It ought to. That was the object of its alleged delivery in Congress. Still, one would like to put a question to Grosvenor's constituents. He has no contempt for them; can they say as much for him?

The Kentucky Republicans in their State convention last week "reaffirmed" the national platform of last year, and endorsed the new tariff, which, with a cheerful confidence based on no known facts, they declare "will raise revenue sufficient to support the government and prevent the issue of interest-bearing bonds," as well as protect American labor. Nothing whatever was said in the resolutions about the currency question, although Senator Deboe, in his speech as temporary chairman, was not afraid to use the word gold, remarking that "the Republican party is in favor of a sound and safe financial system, and believes that this is best maintained by having gold as the standard of value." Among the principles set forth in last year's national platform which were reaffirmed was the statement that "we renew our repeated declarations that the civil-service law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable," but this did not prevent the adoption of the following protest against the whole system based on that law:

"We are opposed to a system of civil service that builds up an official class of practically life tenure in almost all branches of the public service, and we demand that the civil service be so modified as to limit the terms of service to four years, with the privilege of reappointment or promotion, subject to such restrictions as will secure competent officials and to every section of the country its proper proportion of them."

In view of the fact that a Republican President has just extended the scope of the merit system by a new rule designed to insure greater permanence of tenure, this is a most extraordinary deliverance. It is practically a rebuke of Mr. McKinley for his recent order, and a proposal to undo his work.

The Dingley tariff bill went from the Senate to the conference committee on July 7. Although it was not finally reported and passed until July 24, importers reckoned on immediate enactment, and as a consequence the enormous rush of anticipative imports, which had continued since the opening of March, was practically ended by July. The foreign trade statement for that month, issued on Monday by the Bureau of Statistics, shows how sudden has been the resultant shrinkage in the country's merchandise importations. Last February, the total of these imports was \$59,193,868, or less than those of February, 1896. In March the total rose to \$76,372,831, in April to \$101,305,131. Even in June it had fallen only to \$84,826,110. In July, however, the record of the country's imports fell off \$31,137,621 from the month preceding, and amounted to only \$53,688,489, the smallest total since last January, and only a trifle over that of July, 1896, when import trade was almost at low ebb. For August the import movement has undoubtedly been smaller still; the average of foreign imports at New York, for instance, since the month began, has been fully \$4,000,000 weekly under that of the month of July. If the same percentage of decrease has been maintained this month at other ports—and New York's trade is usually typical—the total August importations will be by far the smallest of any month in many years. Thus far in August, by the Treasury's official statements, customs receipts foot up \$3,236,513, against \$5,707,885 for the corresponding period of 1896. In other words, they are, under the Dingley tariff, less by 40 per cent. than they were under the Wilson tariff in one of the worst months of its history.

Since February, imported merchandise has exceeded exports by an average of \$10,000,000 monthly; during April, the import excess rose to \$23,579,431. It was largely settlement for these trade obligations which kept the New York sterling market high, and forced, even last month, the shipment of \$5,460,000 gold in the face of the heavy European demand for grain. But the decreased importations in July have resulted in a merchandise export balance of \$17,723,966. In August this excess of exports will increase enormously. Imports, as we have seen, have decreased rapidly, even from July; meantime, our shipments, of cereals especially, have risen to enormous figures. Last week this country sent out 4,460,519 bushels of wheat, against a weekly average, in July, of barely 2,200,000. Export of other farm products shows similar remarkable increase, and the gain over 1896 and 1895 is as heavy as the gain over preceding months this year. It is hardly a matter for surprise that this month's sterling

exchange market, under such conditions, should have broken violently, and that imports of gold from Europe are already a topic of discussion.

One piece of knavery has been found in the Dingley tariff—that is, an unexpected piece. Opinions may differ as to the schedules which were discussed and understood, giving increased advantages and bounties to the rich, but in all such cases the action taken was known or might have been known by the Congressmen who voted for them. The extra 10 per cent. tax put upon goods passing through Canada was a downright swindle, because it was introduced by stealth. If its existence had been known or suspected it would have been strongly resisted by New England and by parts of the West which now enjoy the competition in freights which the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk railways give. It would have been defeated, as it had been defeated before when presented on its own merits. For this reason we call it downright knavery. And now the question has arisen whether another similar trick was not played with the bill by introducing the Sewall-Elkins provision for discriminating duties in favor of American ships—that is, imposing 10 per cent. extra duties on goods imported in foreign bottoms. This measure was identified with the name of Mr. Bryan's running mate, Sewall, who was nominated because he represented that scheme. The measure was introduced by Senator Elkins, but fell dead. It did not find any support in either branch of Congress, and it was opposed by the leading protectionist newspapers. That there was a design to work it into the Dingley bill by stealth is very evident. Whether it was successful or not is uncertain. The Treasury officials are inclined to think that the change introduced into the phraseology of the law was not sufficient to accomplish the end which was evidently aimed at, but Mr. A. R. Smith, who carried on Sewall's literary bureau during the last campaign, insists that the discriminating duty has been enacted. What a queer thought!

The Attorney-General is said to be giving much thought, before making his decision on the 10 per cent. discriminating duty on goods in bond coming through Canada, to the question what was "the intention of Congress." This is doubtless a consideration to be taken into account in interpreting an ordinary statute, but it is farcically beside the mark in construing any tariff law, especially such a swindling clause as the one in controversy, smuggled in as it was in conference and voted by both houses in the dark. Senator Hoar has declared that the Dingley bill as a whole was passed blindfold, the House not

being trusted to so much as read it. This was certainly the case with the discriminating duty, which not one Congressman in ten knew anything about till it was sprung on the surprised public. For the Attorney-General now to reason gravely on what was "the apparent purpose of Congress" is a little too absurd. The men for him to apply to are the ones who had the clause inserted in the way that "Zekle crep' up, quite unbeknown." If these interested parties have got the Canadian Pacific down; if they have succeeded in secretly manipulating a federal statute so as to put money in their own pockets, let the Attorney-General say so and declare the law. It will be only one swindle more to charge up against the Dingley bill. But let us at least avoid the solemn nonsense of arguing what Congress intended by a law which it did not know it was passing.

Is Stewart among the prophets? And Jones? These eminent silverites are at least among the profits in Wall Street, and are talking in a way to make their constituents think they have been imbibing a great deal of prosperity, or something equally exhilarating. Such a fear will be particularly aroused by Senator Jones's remarks about Trusts. One result of the prosperity which he foresees, will be an "abeyance of this hatred of Trusts." Jones, for his part, proclaims that he never cherished "enmity towards combinations of capital." This has been suspected. It could be believed even of other Senators. But what Jones wants is that all the people should have the same kindly feelings towards Trusts which warm his bosom. They doubtless would if they had the same facilities as he and Stewart have for visiting Wall Street and, as the latter expresses it, just "going to sleep and getting rich." No wonder that Stewart says this is no time for pessimism. If the prince of pessimists gives it up, and admits that "there is nothing in talking silver at the present time," it is time for the little fellows to see that it is all up with the silver issue. Stewart contemplating with entire serenity the fall of silver to 25 cents an ounce and drawing the interest on his mortgages in gold; Jones solemnly announcing that he is not "opposed" to prosperity through good crops and an increase of gold—these are marvels to make one doubt if the age of miracles is really gone. The real significance of their conversion is, of course, their confession that the silver craze is nothing but a product of hard times. Crimes of '73 and conspiracies of the money-power and wrongs to silver and robberies of the people—all disappear like exhalations the moment good times return.

The renewed decline in the price of

silver is said to be causing much inconvenience in Mexico. The foreign exchanges are quite demoralized, and merchants hardly know how much to ask for the goods they sell or how much to pay for what they buy. The Government suffers, just as that of India formerly did. The amount of the public debt on which interest is payable in gold at London is about \$110,000,000, but with silver at its present price this interest charge costs the Mexican Government probably over \$13,000,000 a year in silver money. On the other hand, it costs only about \$3,000,000 for interest on the internal debt, the principal of which is about \$80,000,000. Still, the population of Mexico is not far from 13,000,000, and the revenue of the Government is some \$47,000,000, so that no serious embarrassment is to be apprehended. The Mexican Government is not in the banking business, and has no promissory notes outstanding. The limited paper currency of the country is furnished by the banks, which appear from their reports to be substantial enough institutions. So far as the Government is concerned, it may have to apply a larger portion of its revenues to the purchase of exchange on London, but its revenues will probably be sufficiently elastic to meet the additional charge.

The fall in the price of silver affects the country as a whole more than it does the Government. Silver is by far the most important of Mexican exports. In the year 1895-'96, the value of the silver, silver ore, and silver coin exported was returned at over \$56,000,000, which was considerably greater than the value of all other exports put together, including gold. The quantity of silver produced increases steadily and quite largely, but its purchasing power in the markets of the world is constantly diminishing. The fall in its price is no greater than other nations have witnessed in the case of some of their important products. Iron and copper are a great deal cheaper than they used to be, and so are many other things. But the present decline in silver comes at a time when general prices show a tendency to rise, and it is therefore a serious matter for the foreign trade of the Mexicans.

Consul-General Lee has made a report on the relief of distressed Americans in Cuba. It will be remembered that the President appealed to Congress on May 17 to pass an "immediate" appropriation of \$50,000 for the purpose. There was great urgency, and the general impression was that much more money would be needed. But \$50,000 would do to begin with, and Congress voted it in hot haste. Now, three months later, Gen. Lee reports that his first credit of \$10,000 is "nearly exhausted." He has fed every distressed American

he could find, and has furnished transportation to those wishing it. Of the whole number, 95 per cent. are naturalized Americans; most of them do not speak English and have never lived in the United States; many of them have never even been in the United States, being the wives and children of men who came to this country just long enough to be naturalized. Gen. Lee's report is thus an official exposure of the bunco game played on the President and Congress last May. By working hard for three months, the relievers have spent less than one-fifth of the sum which was "immediately" needed.

Kansas takes the equivalent of a State census every year, through the returns sent to the capital by the township assessors every summer. The showing just made is the most satisfactory for ten years. During nearly all of that period the State has been either losing population or barely holding its own. In 1888 there were 1,518,552 inhabitants, while in 1891 the number had sunk to 1,338,811. Slight gains in 1892 and 1893 were followed by losses in 1894 and 1895, the census in the latter year showing only 1,334,734. This was low-water mark, and last year the tide began to set the other way, the figures for 1896 being 1,336,659. This summer the current is seen to be running more swiftly, the population being now reported as 1,366,789. This is still far short of the figures eight or ten years ago, but it seems reasonable to expect that the gain will continue. The only serious obstacle in the way is the fact that Populism is in power, and cannot be ousted for some time.

The announcement that Mr. Low has become satisfied that he is the man who to the most people represents the idea of honest municipal government will not surprise the public, but it is none the less gratifying, because it assures the presentation of his name as that of the candidate who is to stand for the principle of good government in the approaching struggle for the mayoralty of Greater New York. Pending his nomination, it is amusing to observe the helpless air which characterizes the professional politicians of both parties as they see the people thrusting the "workers" aside and taking charge of the election. They have never known anything like this Low movement before, and they find it harder to understand, the further it is carried. At first they were going to laugh it down, but ridicule has failed, and they do not know what to try next. The shrewder men on the Republican side already see that there is no way of stemming the tide, and that the only thing for the "organization" to do is to accept the inevitable as gracefully as possible.

The assessors of Westchester County, N. Y., appear to have adopted a rule of their own for arriving at the value of real estate. They say that they ascertained, as well as they could, the price paid for each piece of property, and then added thereto whatever had been expended for improvements. They claim to have increased assessments from a desire to comply with the law; but the law contains nothing to warrant assessments made on any such principle as they have adopted. It requires them to assess property at its fair value, and the amount that has been expended upon real estate has very little relation to its fair value. That value is indicated by the market price. Land that is productive of revenue sells at a figure proportioned to the revenue. Land that is unproductive sells according to its attractiveness for purposes of residence. When such land is sold, the purchaser seldom pays much attention to the amount of money that previous occupants have expended. He generally thinks that in many ways they spent their money foolishly, and proceeds to spend his money in undoing their work. The value of the property may thus be correspondingly increased to him, but it is seldom correspondingly increased to any one else. The fair value of land for purposes of taxation is not what it has cost, or what the owner would take for it, but what in the ordinary course of business men would be found willing to give. To assess property at a higher rate than this deserves indictment at least as much as to assess it for less.

It is a great thing to have the honor of the Italian troops in Abyssinia so clearly vindicated. Yet it hung on how small a thread! If the Count of Turin's foot had slipped, or if his sword-hand had been disabled instead of merely scratched, the world would have had to believe that the Italian soldiers are thieves and cowards. But now, that wound in the subcutaneous tissue of Prince Henry's abdomen proves conclusively that they are not. No wonder there was great rejoicing in Rome. The national reputation has been cleared by one thrust in a foreign abdomen. This answers all questions as to what the facts are. Facts, just look at that wound! Schopenhauer lavished his mordant sarcasm on the duel as a means of moral and legal proof of innocence or guilt, but even Schopenhauer would find it hard to do justice to the extravagant features—the absurdity, the *réclame*, the immense journalistic exaggeration—of the Sunday's duel in France between two royal self-advertisers. But, seriously, the incident is a deplorable aggravation of the international ill-feeling which has been deepening for twenty years, fostered by the press of both countries, and finding expression in tariff hostilities and in brutal mobbings.

BANKING REFORM.

In the latest publication of the Gold Standard Defence Association of Great Britain, Mr. B. E. Walker of Toronto discusses the banking system of Canada and incidentally that of the United States. The paper is only an eight-page leaflet, yet it embodies all that is needful to Mr. Walker's purpose, which is to explain why there is no silver party in Canada, and no agitation for free coinage and "cheap money." The reason is a very simple one. Canada has a good banking system. The loanable capital of the country, and its loanable credit, be the same more or less, are equally available in all parts of the Dominion at all times. There is no surfeit at the commercial centres and simultaneous scarcity at the small towns. That phenomenon is avoided by the system of branch banking which prevails in Canada, whereby the reserves of the banks are made available at all points where branches exist, just as the water in a reservoir finds its way to all the pipes and small tanks connected with it. "The agitation in the United States in favor of the unlimited coinage of silver," says Mr. Walker, "is simply the form in which the discontent with existing conditions is expressed by those who do not understand currency and banking problems."

Mr. Walker has here told a truth, but there is something more to be said about the agitation. It is largely based on the collapse of speculation which took place in the years immediately following the Baring panic in London. This occurred in 1890. It disturbed the whole financial world. It shook the fabric of inflated values in South America, Australia, and the United States. It brought on liquidations in all those countries as well as in England. It happened to coincide with a fatal step in the United States—the Sherman act of 1890. That ill-starred measure was passed, not to make money plenty—there was no scarcity of money then—but to insure the passage of the McKinley tariff. It was one of the "political dodges" of which our financial legislation during the past twenty years presents many instances. It was perhaps the worst of all of them. It came at a time of all others when careful, conservative action was needed. It created distrust among capitalists at home and abroad, and it played into the hands of the speculators, enabling them to float more securities and sell more town lots on the prairies, on which the purchasers made only the first payment, about enough to defray the cost of surveying and "staking out" the phantom cities. It promised more money, but it really made less, since it sent gold out of the country and filled the circulation with a new kind of moonshine currency that all men of sense distrusted.

The collapse of 1893 was the consequence. When it came, the speculators of all degrees said that there was not money enough, and the demagogues took their cue from that text. There was not enough money for them, and there never could be enough, because their schemes required more and more in ever-increasing volume. The only safety was in stopping the source of inflation. The country recognized that fact and applied the only possible remedy—the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act. The card-house of speculation was bound to fall. It had really fallen before the act was repealed, but, as in all such cases, the speculators deluded themselves with the belief that the trouble was a lack of money. So they took up the free-coinage issue. The demagogue politicians "caught on" and the campaign of 1896 followed.

While it is true, therefore, as Mr. Walker says, that the demand for free silver was an expression of discontent with existing conditions, that is not the whole truth. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly true that the lack of facilities such as exist in Canada, in Scotland, and in most countries of Europe for the prompt distribution of banking capital and banking credit has been, and still is, an aggravating circumstance. It is true also, we think, that if our banking system were assimilated to those of Canada and Scotland the free-coinage men would not have much ground to stand on. They are losing ground pretty fast now; they would collapse completely if the mobility of capital and credit were as well provided for among us as it is among our neighbors on the north. This mobility is secured in two ways; first, by the branch banks, and second, by the issue of notes against the bank's general assets instead of special security deposited with the Government. Both these reforms will come in time, but perhaps not until the end of some new financial convulsion. The temper of Congress at present is against banks without regard to circumstances. This is shown by the fact that so simple and unobjectionable a measure as allowing the national banks to issue notes up to the par value of their security bonds cannot be passed. It is a paradox, but it is true, that in bad times when we need banking reform we cannot get it, because the banks are held responsible for the bad times. Let us hope that when good times come, when the pressure is removed, there may be a relaxation of the unfounded prejudice against banks, which blocks all movements to make them better. When that time comes it is most probable that reform will follow the lines indicated by Mr. Walker, i. e., branch banks and note issues against general assets, coupled with such security as experience has shown to be needful to protect the noteholder against loss.

OUR MACHIAVELLIANISM.

Mr. Frederick Greenwood, in a striking article in the August *Cosmopolis*, characterizes John Morley's recent Romanes lecture on Machiavelli as "the most stirring political pamphlet that has dropped from the English press for many a year." The reason why this academic lecture really turns out to be a tract for the times is that Machiavelli and Machiavellianism are just now enjoying a sustained reaction in their favor. Party politics, as Sir Henry Maine pointed out, always embodies some of the worst political faults attributed to Machiavelli; but it is now "in the rising conflict of nations for commerce and for empire" that "the returning influence of Machiavellian precept is to be dreaded." Of course Machiavelli remains, as Macaulay said he was, in the popular conception, the discoverer of ambition and revenge and the original inventor of perjury; but for his fatal 'Prince,' we should never have heard of a hypocrite, a traitor, or a tyrant in public life. But if we damn his person only to follow his doctrine, we but emphasize his triumph; our very hypocrisy proves him right.

If Machiavellianism may be conveniently summarized as the justification of deceit and fraud in statesmanship, the assertion of "reasons of state" over morality, of brute force over humanity, it is not difficult, as Mr. Greenwood truly says, to show that the nineteenth century in England is in no position to hold up its hands in horror at the sixteenth century in Italy.

"The coarser corruptions in old countries have been nearly extinguished, leaving only the finer; and there are no coarse crimes in high places. Yet, if Machiavelli could review with that illuminating eye of his our treatment of the bad black man Lobengula, and the Rhodesian plot, and those other more delicate matters which Mr. Morley's warning against hypocrisy started me upon, he might say: 'I see that I spoke truly. Men may change their garb, their aspect, their language, the scene and scope of their activities, but human nature remains the same.'"

It would be pleasant to dwell upon Mr. Greenwood's account of Machiavelli in modern English politics; the vices as well as the misfortunes of our friends it is always edifying to contemplate. But it may be more profitable, if also more ungracious, to ask at what points the political maxims of the great Italian are establishing their hold on our own political life. In domestic affairs, the danger might appear to be reduced to a minimum. The sixteenth-century Prince had his own subjects to conspire against as well as foreign enemies to plot to ruin; citizens of the state were to be tricked and cheated and lied to and despoiled for "reasons of state." All that, in its crude form, has passed away. Government is no longer a separate power intriguing against its own people—though it is still common enough to see one set of people taking possession of it

and using it to intrigue against another set. But we have only to read party for Prince to see that the rules of conduct which Machiavelli laid down for the Prince are threatening to become practically the working principles of party.

The Prince was under no obligation to tell the truth; neither is the party leader. To make matters easy for himself, to secure ample revenues, to maintain his army, to appease discontent and quell insurrection, the Prince was justified in resorting to any kind of deceit or treachery or force. Who will say that the same thing is not now substantially true of party politics in an emergency? What else is involved, in the last analysis, in the favorite excuse, which is also the condemnation, of public men, that they "must support their party"? It simply means that considerations of morals must give way to considerations of party. That is Machiavellianism. The last tariff bill is the last instance of its working. A bill of false pretences and of jobs and swindles innumerable, it owed its enactment to the votes of men who bitterly denounced many of its features, and who were thoroughly convinced of its impolicy and injustice, yet who sacrificed their convictions and their constituents to the demands of party. Machiavelli would have approved this.

But it is true of us, as it is, according to Mr. Greenwood, of England, that the greatest temptation to adopt the methods of the Prince is in foreign policy. There we instinctively feel ourselves freed from some of the restraints which we recognize in domestic policy. The real reason is that we practically identify the conduct of foreign relations with the conduct of a foreign war. In war everything is fair. But in the fierce struggle for trade and territory, preliminary negotiations are practically the beginning of war; therefore, everything in them, too, is fair. If it is right to trick an avowed enemy in every way; to mislead him as to your intentions; to show false lights; to give him lying information; to plot and plan in every way to trap and defeat him; why, so it is to do the same things to one who may become your enemy. It is only adopting the methods of war before the declaration of war. On no other ground can we account for some of the extraordinary positions taken by our Government in recent years. The easy disregard of treaties; the rash charges of oppression and bad faith flung about at other countries; the blind reaching out for territory without regard to the rights or fate of those who live on it—all these are Machiavellian characteristics and policies.

And they are defended by Machiavellian arguments. The Prince was to hesitate at no means necessary to his own self-defence or the growth of his

power along with that of his rivals; instead of Prince, we say "state" or "nation," and allege the same justification. Things that are "necessary" for us we must do, whether right or wrong, just or unjust, merciful or inhuman. We do not know exactly how the Japanese and Chinese and Portuguese in the Hawaiian Islands will fare after annexation—it looks as if they would have a bad time of it; we are sorry for that, but of course we must have the islands. They are necessary to self-preservation. The "state" demands it, and the individual must not complain. But what really is this "state" of the Jingo? Charles Buller said, when the Canadians in their troubles of 1837 were exhorted to trust "the mother country," that the mother country was really an old gentleman with a white cotton umbrella getting off an omnibus every morning in Downing Street. In like manner we should find, we fear, if we closely scrutinized the "state" which the Jingo proposes to make responsible, in some transcendental way, for all their cruel tender mercies to Japanese and Hawaiian, Cuban and Samoan, that it resolves itself into a group of scheming politicians, planters and traders not too scrupulous, eager and ambitious naval officers and naval contractors. They are our modern Machiavellis, and it is their growing control of our foreign policy which threatens to undo all that has been done to civilize it, to make it rational, moral, and humane.

STATE INSURANCE.

The proposed federal Australian state is to be, like ours, a government of enumerated powers; and in the draft now under discussion among the colonies, "State Insurance" is one of the proposed powers. This is, we believe, the first proposal of the kind ever made by the drafters of a written constitution, and is, therefore, of considerable importance. It is significant of the vague ideas which prevail on this subject that there is in the instrument no definition of what state insurance is, to what subjects it is to be applied, nor under what conditions. Yet this question lies at the very threshold of the matter. The grant of power might mean that the state was empowered to take over all the business now done by insurance companies, collect the premiums, and pay the losses; there is nothing absolutely revolutionary in such a scheme, yet we doubt if it is contemplated. On the other hand, one of the English colonies now carries on a business in land-titles which is almost identical in its effects with the business of the title-insurance companies as carried on in this country. Practically it guarantees every landholder against flaws in his title, receiving in return small fees from all landholders, which form a fund to indemnify adverse

claimants. This system, which is very likely destined to spread over the world, is a very good illustration of a proper Government insurance business, all titles to property being a Government output, just as much as cutlery or matches are the product of private enterprise.

When it comes to the insurance of lives, or houses, or goods, however, the case is very different, and though it is perfectly conceivable that the State of New York, for instance, should expropriate and carry on the Equitable Company, nobody has, we believe, as yet seriously entertained the idea as a practical one. It is not quite like the idea of taking over the railroads, because in many states railroads are actually state property, and railroads are unquestionably public highways. It is a long way from state railways to general state insurance.

State insurance must, on the other hand, be distinguished from such schemes as the English compensation bill, designed to afford employees or servants pecuniary redress against accidents. This bill saddles the charge upon the employer, and not upon the state, and on this ground was very ingeniously defended by Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords the other day. What, he said, socialistic? Not a bit of it. This is a good, conservative measure, for it saddles the responsibility for the accidents in a mine or a factory upon the capitalist who gets the profit. It is in reality, he added, the present system which is socialistic. If a coal mine now explodes, and a number of miners are crippled and in consequence become destitute, they have to be supported by the parish—that is, the community at large—who have nothing to do with the matter, while under this good old-fashioned Tory measure the loss falls on the shoulders of the very man who set the miners at work, and but for whom, consequently, the accident would never have happened. Who can "ask fairer" than that?

This argument, of course, ignores the fact that the mine-owner may reply: "I did not cause the accident any more than you did. The cause of the accident was some carelessness, against which I took every imaginable precaution, and which, very likely, if the truth were known, was simply the recklessness of these very miners. If the courts say that I have been negligent, I am perfectly willing to pay; but to make me pay for accidents which I did my utmost to prevent, violates the first principles of justice." Into the merits of this argument it is not necessary to enter here; what we desire to point out is that Lord Salisbury is perfectly right in insisting that all poor-laws and taxes raised for the purpose of providing for the destitute and helpless may by Socialists be treated as a species of state or commu-

nity insurance, which has come down to us from the most remote times—though based originally on principles very different from those of modern socialism.

The question which is agitating the brains of Radicals and Utopians in Australia and elsewhere is, Why should not this system, under which the poor, halt, lame, and blind are supported at the public expense, be extended to cover a multitude of other cases? But they are generally careful to avoid saying how many cases they would have it cover. One pleasant sort of insurance they recommend is "old-age pensions," and to our mind the argument for some such system is, if we admit the premises, most powerful. Old age is not merely a risk, but a certainty of life. It comes to all alike, and it puts a stop at a certain period to self-support. It is nobody's fault, and responsibility cannot be fastened upon the parents who, through having brought us into the world, are really the cause of the whole trouble, for they have already escaped liability by dying themselves. Why should not the state insure us against it, and pay us all a reasonable weekly allowance when we reach the age of, say, sixty-five? It may be said that most people do not need it, but this is a total mistake. Outside the very rich, the number of people in the world who in their declining years can have all the comforts they need is very small. Then there is death. This is a certain evil, too, the effects of which fall in most cases upon the most innocent and deserving class in the community, children left without parents' support. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred such children are brought up by their aunts, uncles, and grandmothers. Should not the state insure aunts, uncles, and grandmothers in some way against this burden? In Germany there is a system of insurance under which house servants are guaranteed against losses through illness, but in this case, as in the English compensation bill, the tax falls on the employer, and it is said that he deducts it from their wages—a result that could never have been intended.

These are merely specimens of the questions which must suggest themselves to any one who carefully considers the question of state insurance. The one thing clear about it is that, unless defined and limited, it must prove a socialistic wedge. When you have once adopted the principle that the community at large should be taxed to guarantee all the members of the community against losses, why should not all risks be covered, and the state guarantee every man a living, insuring not merely against old age and death, and fire and accidents, but against drought and flood, and disease, and crime, and vice, and idleness, and those inherent defects of character—dullness, want of

"push" and energy—which so sadly handicap many of us? The scheme is more practical than that introduced by Bellamy in "The Republic of the Golden Rule."

FREDERIC DE FOREST ALLEN.

Hardly has the news of Prof. Lane's death become known to scholars when they are again shocked and grieved by the sudden demise of his friend and colleague Allen, professor of classical philology in Harvard University. He started from Cambridge on Wednesday morning, August 4, to join his family. He was in the best of health and intending to make the journey upon the wheel. From whatever cause, possibly from unconscious over-exertion in the heat, a blood-vessel was ruptured and death ensued in the evening. Prof. Allen's life-work did not bring him much before the public eye—indeed, he was not widely known even to the undergraduate community at Harvard; yet his loss is a great one, not only to the University, but also to the cause of classical scholarship in America.

Mr. Allen was born at Oberlin, O., May 25, 1844, when the college had just completed the first decade of its existence; and he came of the frugal and sturdy New England stock that early peopled the lands of the "Western Reserve." His father, George Nelson Allen, from Mansfield, Mass., was a pioneer at Oberlin, both as student and as preceptor; for he was a member of the second class (of 1838) to be graduated at the new college, and was professor of natural history there from 1847 to 1871. Maintaining an exchange of specimens with Agassiz and others, he made the beginning of a museum which is now an important and creditable one. The mother, Mary Rudd, was from eastern Connecticut, and a graduate (in 1841), with two other women, of the first college class in the United States in which women took a full classical course. Her interest in the language of the ancients she kept to the end, and read the Greek papers which her son sent her during his year of service in Athens.

Allen graduated in 1863 at Oberlin, and, after a course of study at Leipzig and some years of service as professor in the University of Tennessee, as tutor at Harvard, and as professor in the University of Cincinnati, was called in 1879 to the chair of Greek at Yale, to be the successor of those eminent scholars, Woolsey and Hadley. Here, however, he remained only a single year; for in 1880 the Harvard Corporation, mainly in order "to strengthen and enrich the department of graduate instruction," called three new professors simultaneously: Toy for Semitic languages, Allen for classical philology, and Lanman for Sanskrit. This was done under the conviction "that the prestige of the University was to be maintained and its influence increased quite as much by amplifying the highest instruction, which is necessarily given to a few, as by improving the lower, which is sought by many." Allen's senior colleagues in the classical department were Sophocles (already advanced in years), Lane, Goodwin, and Greenough; and the graduate department of the University was in its beginnings. There, then, for seventeen years he has labored, and has been cut off untimely in the midst of his work.

His first noteworthy publication, the first fruits of his Leipzig studies, was a treatise *de dialecto Locrensi*. It is a beautifully finished essay, lucid and attractive; and its substantial merit was rated high by his teacher, the first authority of the time, Georg Curtius, who published it in the third volume of his 'Studien.' While at Cincinnati he published an edition of the "Medea" of Euripides; and at Yale, a volume of 'Remnants of Early Latin,' which elicited high praise from the best judges. His next important work was a revision of Hadley's 'Greek Grammar,' finished in 1884; and the year 1885-'86 he spent as Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. In 1888 he put forth an elaborate technical treatise on 'Greek Versification in Inscriptions' in the Papers of the School, on whose publication committee he was an active worker. Meantime, the "Harvard Studies in Classical Philology" had been undertaken; and in this enterprise, too, he bore his full part, aiding it by learned contributions, by editorial help, and by the best of counsel.

Mr. Allen was a man of genuine modesty. He was not at all eager to rush into print; he was much more concerned to have his work good, accurate, and usable, well digested in substance, and well finished in form. His published writings, accordingly, are not voluminous. On the other hand, there is every reason to believe, in his case, as in that of the lamented Hadley, that if his life had been spared one decade more, that decade would have been one of great and most valuable productivity. His sabbatical year of 1891-'92 he spent at Oxford and Paris in diligent labor on the glosses and scholia to Plato; and he has left a mass of material upon this subject, in part excerpts from the "Parisinus A," in part notes relating to the scholia of the "Clarkianus" of the Bodleian. And he was hoping, at the next opportunity, to proceed to Vienna and continue this work. In connection with his university lectures he had already made important preparatory studies and collections for a systematic treatment of the Greek religion; and this, it is likely, would have been one of his next undertakings.

He was an honored member of the American Philological Association, at one time its President, and a valued and frequent contributor to its Transactions. He was one of a little circle of friends, with neither organization nor name, but usually known as the History of Religions Club; and to it he brought his thoughtful and instructive discussions of topics of the Greek religion. His resources for diversion were not mean. He took an active and official part in the work of the Appalachian Mountain Club; he was an expert photographer; and his inherited taste and fondness for music made that a great solace to him. With one of his colleagues, by way of pastime, he wrote an operetta, "Old King Cole," and a musical pantomime, "Violetta." When the Latin play, the "Phormio" of Terence, was brought out at Harvard, he wrote the music, which was at once interesting for its fidelity to the spirit of the antique, and charming and graceful in itself.

It was only a very few days before his death that one of his colleagues who knew him well said to another, "How Allen continues to grow!" That was very true. The achievements of the "bright young man" are good; but the element of time is some-

thing in lieu of which no native gifts can stand. Time makes the ungifted man an old fogey. Time was making—had made—of Allen a ripe scholar. Indeed, there was something about him to remind one of the famous old Dutch Hellenists, whom he knew so well and admired so much. Like theirs, his conception of classical antiquity was many-sided; his reading was wide; and his sympathetic interest in kindred subjects (let us say comparative grammar or American dialects) which lay without his special field, was so genuine that his judgments were not easily perverted by giving undue weight to a single kind of evidence. To those who knew Prof. Lane, it is no small praise to say that he set store by Allen's decisions.

And how is it with the fragmentariness of such a life? *Voll Mühe und eitel Stückwerk*, says Goethe of human achievement. But it is vain and fragmentary only as we take it out of relation to what goes before and after. Charles Elliot has just passed away at even less than forty; and yet how complete and distinct is the service of public beneficence which he has rendered in beautifying the region about Boston, and in teaching men to work with nature and to love nature. And Allen has made a complete and distinct contribution to the building of a university. The distinctness of these services may merge as the years run. Future generations may know not whom they have to thank for the opportunity of nobler and more beautiful lives on the one hand, nor for the fundamental traditions of honest and ennobling scholarship on the other. But that need not daunt one's courage for a like high-minded devotion, nor abate one whit from our sense of the completeness and worth of such loving service.

A STATE OF SUMMER RESORTS.

BRUNSWICK, August 7, 1897.

It is now a generation and more since a considerable stream of travel began to pour itself, during the summer season, into the western and southern parts of the State of Maine. Beginning in a moderate way—a few families here, a party of sportsmen or tourists there—the number of summer visitors and residents has grown steadily, until it now reaches several hundred thousand annually; and the increase has been especially rapid in the past ten years. Although the regular summer population is drawn chiefly from the New England and Middle States and Canada, nearly every State in the Union is represented. Of tourists, strictly so called, the number is probably less than in some other places, quite the larger proportion of summer visitors being regular sojourners and their friends. In its size and character, however, as well as in its growing volume, the summer population marks Maine as unquestionably the chief summer resort of the Atlantic Coast, and of the United States as well.

The movement of this temporary population is mainly along three routes, or, rather, into three sections of the State. Fishing parties gravitate towards the Rangeley Lakes, and hunting parties towards Moosehead, while most of those who aim to combine pleasure and sport in about equal proportions commonly make one or the other of these places their starting-point. There is royal salmon-fishing on the Penobscot, and

both fishing and hunting in the wild region further north, but the number of sportsmen who visit either of these localities is small as compared with the number who flock to the lakes. The other route is along the seashore, with Mount Desert as the terminus. From Kittery Point to Bar Harbor almost every mile of the coast has some of the marks of a summer resort, although Old Orchard, Cape Elizabeth, and Casco and Penobscot Bays catch and hold the greater part of the tide. Beyond Bar Harbor the summer population is inappreciable—partly, no doubt, because both coast and interior are here less beautiful than is the case further south, and partly because the region is not yet easily accessible. Along the New Hampshire line the influx, while increasing, is not yet very considerable, and is more in the nature of an overflow from the crowded resorts of the White Mountains than an appropriation of a new and distinct locality.

In circumstances, character, and aims the summer population of Maine presents the greatest variety. There are representatives of almost every type, from the excursionist and "globe-trotter" to the regular visitor of many years' standing, from the family of narrow means to the Croesus whose thousands are scattered without a thought. Sportsmen, as has been said, seek the lakes, and with them goes a small army of less noticeable and less wealthy persons, both men and women, who push their canoes far into the unbroken forest, along the streams and lakes which carry one up to the Canadian and New Brunswick border. Those who go inland seem, as a rule, to eschew the sea, and vice versa; so that along the coast one finds a summer population which cares little for rod or gun, but takes its pleasure in sailing and salt-water fishing. Life in the woods represents the acme of the *négligé*; at the seashore resorts, on the contrary, with their large hotels and greater opportunity for display, the demands of fashion are heavier, and one dresses for dinner. Old Orchard, notwithstanding its magnificent beach, has changed much in twenty years; it is no longer fashionable nor even attractive, but is given over to gigantic excursions, Salvation Army conclaves, and "faith-healing." A large number of Canadians, however, still regularly pass the summer there, and a few remoter parts of the town have escaped, thus far, the barbarian invasion. For the most lavish show of wealth and the fullest fury of the social whirl one turns, of course, to Bar Harbor; but Bar Harbor is a little world by itself, and, notwithstanding its superb beauty, has long since become impossible for all save the financially elect. Finally, scattered over the entire settled portion of the State are thousands of summer visitors, representing almost every calling and condition in life, and attracted, some by family associations, some by the charm of a particular locality, some by the inexpensiveness of living. From June to September there is an endless succession of "summer people" on every train, steamboat, and stage, and at every hotel and boarding-house in Maine.

Of all modern devices for giving pleasure to large numbers of people, few have failed more conspicuously than the average summer hotel. In this respect Maine is no more fortunate than other States. While the situation of the hotels is often extremely attractive, the houses themselves are too often cheaply built and poorly kept, the ruling

principle seeming to be the maximum of price for the minimum of endurable accommodation. So far, indeed, have poor service and exorbitant charges been carried at Bar Harbor that many influential cottagers have refused to recommend certain hotels to their friends; and there are said to be signs that the resulting loss of patronage is hastening the coming of much-needed reforms. Moreover, such beauty of situation as many of the seashore hotels originally possessed is being rapidly destroyed, in many cases, by the multiplication and crowding of small and unsightly wooden buildings. If, in this particular, matters go on for ten years more as they are going now, there will be very few large hotels at any populous resort on the Maine coast which persons with a feeling for natural beauty will care to patronize. Summer cottages of the better sort are multiplying, but not rapidly, while the innumerable ones of a lower grade are, ordinarily, little better than rough shells, destitute of every modern convenience. Away from the coast, save at Rangeley, Moosehead, and Poland Springs, the hotels are usually less pretentious, and provide comfortably for their guests. Transportation facilities for the principal resorts are good, although local railroad fares are very high; but the stage lines, which must often be resorted to, have so deteriorated of late years that travel over them is, in most cases, an experience to be dreaded.

The social effect of the large and rapidly increasing temporary population—in number nearly equal to one-third of the total permanent population of the State—is a question of considerable importance, though, naturally, one to which a very definite answer cannot well be given. The majority of summer visitors, of course, come and go without making any marked impression upon the community; but since they spend a good deal of money, they are more or less cordially welcomed. I am inclined to think, however, that anything like a general recognition of the social worth of the summer element is not yet very pronounced. Most communities in Maine are small, with many rural habits and characteristics, but little wealth. As a whole, the disposition to provide especially for the needs or desires of visitors is not strong, even where the chief part of the income is derived from that class; the assumption seems to be, rather, that the visitors are sure to come anyway, and that the less there is expended for their gratification, the greater will be the profit from despoiling them. There are notable exceptions, of course—communities which have been wise enough to spend liberally for their guests, and have reaped a rich reward, not of money alone, but of good-will and social enrichment. In not a few places, also, summer residents have contributed liberally to local public objects. The State authorities, too, are making, in the interest of sportsmen, energetic efforts to preserve the game, and have put in operation this year a novel system of licensing guides. Outside of transportation interests, however, a few energetic communities and select resorts, and, in fish and game matters, the State itself, the summer visitor in Maine is commonly looked upon as primarily a source of financial profit, and, consequently, a most desirable addition to the town or village, but, in other respects, as a person to whom the community is under no special obligation, for whose satisfaction no very strenuous ef-

forts are to be put forth, and from whom little can be learned.

To people generally, the financial side of the question is probably of most practical importance. That a very large amount of money is expended annually in the State by non-residents is evident; and, while the amount can hardly be determined with precision, it is undoubtedly much greater than most persons suppose. In 1893 the Commissioner of Industrial and Labor Statistics estimated "the pecuniary results to the State" from its summer-resort business at not less than \$10,000,000 annually. The figure seems enormous, yet some good judges pronounced the estimate too small. Of this total it was estimated that \$3,000,000 was spent at hotels and boarding-houses, \$1,000,000 for farm produce, and \$100,000 for services of guides. Each of these items would now have to be considerably increased. Taking communities as a whole, the receipts from summer business are very evenly distributed, and represent the necessities rather than the luxuries of life; for, with the exception of Bar Harbor, it should be remembered, there is little expenditure that can be called lavish, most of the summer visitors being persons of moderate means, who seek vacations without display.

The future of Maine as a summer resort is a matter of vital consequence to the people of the State. There can be no question that the summer-resort business is already nearly, if not quite, the leading industry in Maine; and there seems to be good reason for thinking that its rank, in this respect, will be maintained for a long time to come. Two-thirds of the area of the State is still comparatively unsettled; the thickly settled portion, and the resort of most of the summer population, lies to the south and west, south of a line drawn from Machias to Lake Umbagog. The great region to the north, though holding in some sections, as in parts of the Aroostook county, a considerable population, is still, in the main, a land of forests, lakes, and streams. Its development waits upon the railroad; for, next to natural beauty and resource, it is the railroad that makes a summer resort. Railroad facilities, however, both in mileage and in equipment, are increasing. In the southern and western sections summer visitors have become an established institution. They have appropriated about all the choice spots on the coast as far east as Mount Desert; desirable building sites are already scarce, and command a good price. About the fishing grounds, too, land is being rapidly bought up, and permanent camps established; for here, as by the sea, pleasure and sport are unmistakably tending to become practicable only for the well-to-do. In the country, away from the shore and the lakes, signs of change are less in evidence; yet, here again, old farms are being rejuvenated, old houses made over, cottages erected at vantage points. Other indirect results of a practical nature are an increased attention to market gardening, extension of electric railroads, and a growing demand for good country roads. In these various respects, at least, summer business has brought prosperity. It seems inevitable, however, that the near future must witness a sharp advance in the cost of living, and that the reign of low prices, which heretofore has drawn many to the State, cannot long continue; indeed, this result has already, in some measure and in some localities, begun to come about. Such a social transformation

will not, of course, work itself out rapidly, and some of its consequences are hardly to be deplored. Year by year, however, the pressure of summer population is forcing the advance line further and further into the forest, and eastward along the coast; and so long as two-thirds of the State, unlimited in resources, is yet unexploited, Maine is likely to remain, beyond dispute, the pleasure-ground *par excellence* of the United States.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

ITALY AS A "GREAT POWER."

NAPLES, June, 1897.

Returning, last autumn, after twenty-five years, to Italy, I found, as I hardly need say, great changes, some already completed and some still in progress, both in the material and in the moral conditions of the country; but nothing more forcibly claimed my attention than the processes of evolution now going on in its political life. Chief among these in interest and importance is the extremely slow process of national unification; in other words, the gradual prevalence, among the inhabitants of the several provinces of Italy, of whatever makes them Italians over whatever makes them Sicilians, Tuscans, Ligurians, or Venetians, and the substitution, I might almost say, of a national for a sectional consciousness. I had left Italy when she had just completed her territorial unity by the occupation of Rome, I returned to find her still laboriously busy with the realization of a true national unity; and although Italy to-day sums up more visibly than any other European country the transitional character of the present half-century in every branch of human activity, this fact did not so strongly impress me in any other department of the national life as it did in this gradual melting together of so many distinct nationalities and of so many distinct types of men into one nation. The reader may be surprised that I should speak, in this connection, of distinct types of men; but the expression is justified by the facts. There is a greater difference between a Lombard and a Sicilian than between a Sicilian and a native of Provence.

When, long ago, Prince Metternich declared that "Italy" was nothing more than a geographical expression, he spoke the simple truth; and this it was that made his bare statement sting more sharply than the keenest epigram. There was no Italy in Metternich's day; and, what is more, though this is so absolutely ignored alike by Italians and by foreigners, there never had been any Italy. In the remote past there had been a Rome, a vast empire in which the northern Italian counted less as a citizen than the Allobrogian of Gaul or the Romanized Iberian of Spain. Since the disintegration of the Roman Empire, Italy had never been anything but a fortuitous collection of political units jostled together, singly or in ever-changing groups, in ceaseless rivalries and hostilities. Not even Dante had dreamed of an Italy at once united and independent; nor could one say that such an ideal had been cherished by any considerable body of Italians in any age before the French Revolution, that great wonder-worker to which the world owes the bewildering rapidity of its progress in this century of speed.

As late as 1891 the Italian novelist De Roberto could, without in any way violating the probabilities of fiction, make an old

marchese in his famous novel 'Illusione' say of Italy, "Do you call it a nation? Why, it is a mere harlequin's cloak! How is it possible to stitch together Piedmont and Sicily, Milan and Naples, different races, conflicting manners, repugnant traditions?" His liberal interlocutrix replies, "That will be the work of time. Let us meanwhile be content with political unity: real unity will come by and by." "But he," adds the novelist, "only shook his head, regretting the days of Sicilian autonomy—of the national monarchy." To this old marchese of fiction Sicily was the real nation. To the Piedmontese nobles of flesh and blood whom D'Azeglio describes in his 'I Miei Ricordi,' patriotism meant no more than devotion to the sub-Alpine kingdom and to the House of Savoy. To this day the pushing, stirring Sicilian, or Neapolitan, who is invading every field of activity, and especially those of financial speculation and political life, which most attract his mercurial nature, is regarded with as much suspicion and aversion as any foreign intruder might be by the more saturnine Tuscans and North Italians whom he jostles and elbows out of his way in his fussy restlessness.

I must not be understood as undervaluing what has been accomplished already in Italy toward the achievement of the real unity spoken of in the passage just quoted. Much has been done by an intelligent and patriotic press; much by those institutions which bring together for a common purpose the Italians of the different provinces. Among these institutions I may mention the Parliament; the civil service, with its promiscuous scattering of officials of diverse origin over all the land; but chiefly the national army, which has done what no other agency could accomplish, by bringing together the men of the lower classes in barrack and bivouac, in the camp, and on the battle-field; by inspiring them with a true and enthusiastic devotion to a common flag, and by teaching them, in the regimental schools, to speak, read, and write one common language, in lieu of a score of local dialects.

Notwithstanding all this excellent work, much remains to be done to secure real unity in the lowest, and perhaps also in the highest, stratum of society. This need excite no wonder. The case of Italy is essentially different from that of Germany, a nation of equally recent birth. In Germany the standard of popular education was far higher than in Italy, and the seeds of a truly national feeling had been abundantly sown at the time of the war of liberation, when she rose with such admirable unanimity against the first Napoleon; and, although there were in Germany religious differences which do not exist in Italy, there was, on the other hand, a far better acquaintance and a fuller intercourse among the constituents of the present Reich than ever existed among the petty states of Italy. After all, we should not overestimate the real unity of the German Empire, where it might not be difficult to discern a deep jealousy of Prussia, and a growing dissatisfaction with her virtual absorption of the other members of the Reich. As to Austria-Hungary, whose new birth as a constitutional monarchy is also recent, national unity, although now become desirable and desired, is not so indispensable to her as it is to Italy. The farrago of nationalities which that empire includes have been held together for centuries in a merely po-

litical unity by the strong hand of an ancient dynasty ruling over them all in severalty, and rather preferring, until very lately, that they should remain disunited in feeling; whereas, Italy has not in her ruling dynasty any such secular traditions of imperial sway, and must depend in a far larger measure upon the formation and growth of a sentiment of true national unity to give her the requisite stability which Austria inherits from the ages. In Austria-Hungary many centuries of subjection to one and the same master has done little to reconcile Hungarian with Czech, Croatian with German, Pole with Illyrian. It is not, I am sure, an extravagant estimate to say that two or three generations must pass away before the Italians are as truly one people as the French or the Spaniards are to-day.

In the year 1887 this half-consolidated nation formally enrolled itself among the so-called "Great Powers" of Europe by openly and even ostentatiously subscribing to the Austro-German alliance, to which it had belonged in a less open way since 1883. This step was taken during the premiership of Francesco Crispi, a Sicilian statesman whose theatrical and Jack-in-the-box politics remind one of the late Lord Beaconsfield; and I believe that it was taken unwisely, and has delayed for many years the prosperity and consequent influence which all men felt to be in store for the Italian kingdom. It was Italy's misfortune to be the foster-child of Diplomacy. Every reader is familiar with those events which led to the birth of the new nation. Count Cavour had conceived the bold plan of engaging the little kingdom of Sardinia in an offensive alliance against Russia, well knowing that if England and France should accept Sardinia as an ally, the Italian question could no longer be blinked. In this plan he succeeded, whatever some Italians to-day may find it convenient to forget, by the aid of Napoleon III. Everybody knows how the acceptance of the Sardinian contingent by France and England in the Crimean war, and the admirable conduct of those troops, led to the admission of a Sardinian envoy to the congress which terminated that war by the Treaty of Paris in 1856; and how, in spite of the efforts of Austria, with whom, for her selfish neutrality during the conflict, all the belligerents were profoundly disgusted, the Italian question came to be discussed. This was the very moment of the conception of that Italy which came to her full birth only fourteen years later. Before that time the nascent nation found itself already entangled in the political complications of Europe, being in fact forced to avail itself of them in order to attain to its final plenitude of existence. For although Italy was in a certain sense a *fait accompli* even immediately after the Franco-Austrian war of 1859, she was not able to complete her political unification without the aid of Prussia in 1866 and of Prussia and Austria in 1870.

She thus came into being with old scores to pay, and predestined, as it were, to play in this age the same part that her Dukes of Savoy had formerly played in the wars in which Austria, France, and Spain were the great champions. Accordingly, after 1870, there was no great interval before significant visits began to be exchanged between the Italian and the German and the Austrian courts; and in 1875 the Emperor William was able to announce to the Reichs-

rath that an *entente cordiale* existed between his Government and that of Italy. This was but natural. Italy owed nothing to France, but only to Napoleon III.; and she regarded that debt as amply paid for by the cession of Nice and Savoy, if, indeed, it had not been quite blotted out by the attitude of France and the Emperor in keeping the Italians out of Rome. On the other hand, she owed Venetia to the Prussians, and Rome to Prussia and Austria. It was evident that everything was pushing Italy to Northern alliances. Again, the Emperors of Germany and Austria, both interested in imposing inactivity upon France, then burning to avenge the defeats and losses of 1870, might well wish to forestall a *rapprochement* between France and Italy; and it seems probable that, as early as 1875, hopes were held out to the Italian statesmen of a definite place for Italy among the "Great Powers," and a treaty to guarantee that place as soon as she could show a sufficiently imposing strength. These projects might have been sooner realized but for a coolness which arose between Austria and Italy by reason of the Irredentist movement of 1878. This, it will be remembered, was an agitation set on foot by Garibaldi and other enthusiasts, who claimed that the district of Trent and the whole of Istria, including Trieste, all of which they chose to call "unredeemed Italy (*Italia irredenta*)," should be surrendered by Austria to Italy because the former had acquired Bosnia and Herzegovina by the treaty of Berlin. This coolness might have lasted many years but for the French conquest of Tunis in 1881. This gave great offence to the Italians, who had important interests in that country and who affected to regard that conquest as "disturbing the equilibrium of the Mediterranean," a phrase more full of sound than of sense. Thereupon King Humbert ventured upon a visit to Vienna, which led to a treaty of alliance with Germany and Austria in 1883. This treaty, which at first was kept secret, was to expire in 1887.

In 1887 it was apparent that the treaty of 1883 had cost the country enormously. As far back as 1877 the Italian Government had thought it necessary to prepare for such an alliance by extensive armaments, and this policy had been further pursued after the treaty of 1883, and probably as a condition of it. In 1888, a date which will spare us the repetition of many dry figures, the Italian fleet was second only to that of England, and contained seven armored vessels more powerful than any to be found in the fleet of any other nation. On the 1st of July of the same year the interest on the public debt was more than \$112,520,000, while the deficit for the year was considerably in excess of \$7,000,000. The treaty signed by Signor Crispi called for still greater sacrifices. The army budget for the year 1888-1889 rose to sixty million dollars, while the navy estimate for the next eight years after 1888 reached the sum of twenty millions per annum. It has taken ten years to convince a majority of the Italians that the premature enrolment of their country among the Great Powers of Europe was dear at the price. One immediate result was an aggressive, braggart tone of which even we, in this country, had a taste when the Marchese di Rudini, in a

very just cause, but not quite *suausiter in modo*, twisted the tail of the American eagle in the most approved Jingo style. Italy, bent on imitating the older nations, even embarked more extensively in African colonization, instead of wisely abandoning her unprofitable settlement in Eritrea after the check received at the outpost of Saati in February, 1887. To-day, after the disasters and disgrace of the war with Abyssinia, the preponderance of sentiment among sober-minded Italians is that defeats and mistakes should be frankly and quickly acknowledged, and that Italy should set the shining example of a nation not ashamed to confess her past follies and resolved to return to those ways of moderation, of thrift, and of well-directed industry from which her ambition has seduced her. If Italy continues in this way, if she devotes herself to restoring her credit by keeping her expenses within her income and reducing her excessive debt, while she conciliates all her neighbors by an attitude at once peaceful and dignified, it seems quite certain that the next century will see her in fact as well as in name one of the really great Powers of the civilized world.

FRANCIS PHILIP NASH.

INEDITED LETTERS OF NAPOLEON I.—I.

PARIS, July 29, 1897.

During his reign, Napoleon III. ordered the publication of the correspondence of Napoleon I. as a tribute to his memory. The work was executed between the years 1858 and 1869, under the supervision of a committee, which was presided over by Prince Napoleon. The correspondence was published in no less than twenty-eight quarto volumes, and contains about 22,000 letters, decrees, orders of the day, bulletins, etc.; but it must not be imagined that these twenty-eight volumes contain the whole correspondence of the Emperor. About a third of the letters and documents still remain unpublished or have been destroyed.

Prince Napoleon, President of the imperial committee, in a report addressed to his uncle in 1864, said: "In general, we have taken for our guide this simple idea: we thought that we ought to publish what the Emperor himself would have yielded to publicity. If, surviving himself and anticipating the verdict of time, he had chosen to show to posterity his person and his system." Acting on that principle, the committee left unpublished all the letters which might have tended to diminish the prestige of the great Emperor, the letters which related to his quarrels with his brothers, those which were thought too injurious to some of the marshals or high dignitaries of the State, many letters concerning the Pope, the police, the press, etc. Many indiscretions were committed at the time, and I remember having heard some curious passages from the correspondence of Napoleon with Josephine (after his marriage), written from Italy and from Egypt. It is well known that Prince Napoleon destroyed a number of these letters. In 1864, an officer of the Emperor's staff was sent by him to the archives and took to the Tuilleries forty-two letters, fifteen of which have disappeared, probably in the burning of the Tuilleries in 1871. M. Léon Lecestre has undertaken to publish the inedited letters of Napoleon between the years VIII. and 1815; he has not published

any of the letters written before the Consulate, as various publications contain them nearly all. The two volumes thus compiled form certainly a most valuable addition to the publication made under Napoleon III., and will probably be read with much interest, as they contain what may be called the most dangerous part of Napoleon's correspondence. M. Lecestre, if I may use a vulgar expression, has taken the plums of the pudding.

In his 'Representative Men' Emerson takes Napoleon as the type of the man of action. Could he have read the two volumes just published, he would see in them a justification of his definition. It is impossible not to be struck, at every line, by the directness, if I may say so, of Napoleon's mind. Though his complete correspondence fills so many volumes, not a line has been written in vain, not a word is useless. Napoleon writes as he thinks, and his thought never wanders, never gets lost; it always has an immediate object; the clearness of the style is the mirror of an intellect which is clearness itself, and, in the height of passion, shows no mark of disorder or confusion. It is generally thought that diplomatic language ought to be enveloped by prudent circumlocutions, and by a dubious obscurity. Talleyrand, a model of diplomatic expression, said once that language was given to man to conceal his thought. In the long and numerous diplomatic notes and memoranda sent by Napoleon to his ministers, you will find a style very different from the usual diplomatic style. While every precaution is taken with regard to possible eventualities, every side of a question examined, every mode of persuasion examined, the mode of action to be adopted in a given situation or complication is always laid down with the greatest possible clearness; no choice is left to his agents, they have nothing to do but to obey. When you come out of this huge mass of correspondence, you feel almost oppressed by the gigantic effort of which it is the daily, almost hourly, proof, as well as by the tremendous power of a will which allowed no other will but his own, which denied liberty, not only to his own family, not only to his companions in arms, not only to his own people, but to all nations; not only to all national powers, but to all spiritual forces. He was a sort of inspired egotist. His egotism had nothing mean and narrow in its essence, it always aimed at something great; he cared not for money, nor for pleasure; he cared only for power and glory; and for him there was no glory but in power.

In his famous portrait of Napoleon, Taine constantly refers to the Italian origin of the Emperor; he compares him with the Italian tyrants of the Renaissance; only, while these petty tyrants exercised their faculties in the small horizon of a city, fortune gave to Napoleon a wide field—it gave him not only France, but the whole of Europe. The Corsican character of the Emperor is nowhere better shown than in his letters to the members of his family. He had the true clannish feeling, which has been so remarkably maintained in Corsica; and, while he thought that his duty was to promote the interests and fortunes of all the members of his family, he believed that he had a right to their absolute devotion and obedience. He did not distribute to them pastures and olive trees, but kingdoms; but he always looked on them as if they were all living in the neighborhood of Ajaccio. Lucien is the ob-

ject of constant reproaches. Napoleon finds fault with him when he has made him his Ambassador at Madrid. Lucien is scolded on account of a treaty made with Portugal; he is thought too weak in his dealings with the Prince of Peace. "If this system continues, say boldly to the Queen and to the Prince of Peace that it will end by a *coup de tonnerre*" (December 1, 1801). Lucien married a Mrs. Jouberton without asking permission of his brother, and fell from favor immediately; he was deprived of his rights as a French Prince when Napoleon became Emperor. Napoleon offered to give them back to him if he would consent to a divorce:

"The divorce from Madame Jouberton once proclaimed, with a great title at Naples or anywhere else, if Lucien will have her near himself, on condition that he be not in France, he may live with her—not as the Princess, his wife—in any degree of intimacy that may please him. I will put no obstacle in the way of it, for it is only politics which interest me. I will not run counter to his tastes and his passions." (Letter to Joseph, King of Naples, from Milan, December 20, 1807.)

In 1810, we find a letter from Napoleon to Count Laplace, the Chancellor of the Senate, ordering him to strike Lucien from the list of Senators. "Absent for five years from the territory of the Empire, and, when Rome became a part of it, having left this place to cross the seas and retire to America, he has renounced the duties and the title of Senator."

Joseph Bonaparte, first King of Naples, and afterwards of Spain, was more obedient than Lucien; he submitted meekly to the advice of the Emperor, but he was weak and incompetent, and Napoleon has often to blame him: "I have received your letter of the 10th of August. All that is going on in Spain is deplorable. . . . How can Spain be thus evacuated without your even knowing where the enemy is? . . . The army, as it is organized, can beat all the insurgents, but a head is wanting." (Saint-Cloud, August 16, 1808.) In 1813, Napoleon writes from Dresden to Cambacérès, that he sends the Duke of Dalmatia to Spain as his Lieutenant-General:

"As for the King of Spain, my intention is that he shall remain at Pampeluna, San Sebastian, or Bayonne, and shall wait my orders. In any case, my intention is that he shall not come to Paris, and that no high dignitary, no minister, no senator or councillor of state shall see him before my intentions be made known to him. The King ought not to cross the Loire without my order; but if he has done so, it would be best that he should go in the greatest incognito to Morfontaine [Joseph's country place near Chantilly] . . . You will employ force, if necessary, for the execution of my orders."

Napoleon attributed to Joseph the failure of the Spanish expedition; he was extremely discontented with him. "It is ridiculous," he says, to Cambacérès, in a letter from Wittenberg, "that the Prince should not clearly know that I blame him for all that has been done in Spain in the past five years. He has shown neither military talent nor administrative faculty." He writes again from Dresden, July 20, 1813, this time to the Duke of Rovigo:

"My positive intention is that the King shall not come to Paris, or even approach it. Let him remain at Morfontaine. If he goes to Paris or Saint-Cloud, have him arrested; let him know this. . . . The miscarriages in Spain are all the greater because they are

ridiculous; such is the opinion of the English themselves. But the army is not dishonored; the Spanish army had no general, and the King was a burden. In the last analysis I am not blind to the fact that it was all my fault."

The last letter published in M. Lecestre's two volumes is addressed to Joseph, from Philippeville, June 19, 1815: "All is not lost. I suppose that I shall still have 150,000 men. . . . I will summon 100,000 conscripts, arm them with the guns of the royalists and the bad national guards; I will raise Dauphiné, Lyonnais, Burgundy, Lorraine, Champagne; but I must be aided. . . . I am going to Laon. I have not heard from Grouchy." It was too late, and Joseph, who had been left behind in Paris, had no part to play in the last struggle.

The letters to Louis, King of Holland, are a never-ending succession of reproaches, and a constant curtailing of the attributes of the King, whose power had really become nominal. Napoleon threatens him perpetually with the incorporation of Holland in the Empire, and consents to preserve Holland as a kingdom only if he can govern it and be obeyed in everything. Some of the letters to Louis are very characteristic:

"We hear that you have in your states reestablished the nobility, with its titles and privileges. How is it possible that you should have had so little discernment as not to feel that nothing can be more injurious to yourself, to your people, to France, and to myself? You are a French prince; how could you forget your first oath, which consists in maintaining equality among your peoples? . . . You thus renounce the throne of France; for a man who would rob the nation of what fifteen years of struggle and of effort have obtained for it, would not be worthy to sit on it. . . . You have lost your head. You may expect anything if you do not revoke this measure. You will cease to be a French citizen and a prince of my blood."

If such was his language to Louis, the King of Holland, you may easily imagine how he treated Jerome, his younger brother, whom he had placed on the throne of Westphalia. Louis tried, at least, to be a real sovereign, and took to heart the interests of Holland—sometimes too much so to please Napoleon, who, in his great struggle with England, obliged Holland to make great sacrifices. Jerome was a light character; he constantly plunged into debt, and was a poor soldier.

"I have seen an order of the day of yours which makes you the laughing-stock of Germany, Austria, and France. Have you nobody near you who can tell you the truth? You speak as King, as brother of the Emperor—ridiculous qualities in war. You must be a soldier, and again a soldier; you need no minister, nor diplomatic body, nor pomp. Be at the bivouac with your vanguard, day and night, on horseback; go to the front to get news; or else remain in your seraglio. You make war like a satrap. Have you learned this from me?" (Schönbrunn, July 17, 1809.)

Correspondence.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your number of August 5, speaking of the relations between Canada and the United States, you say: "Separation has become our settled policy, and the commercial union with England which we have

forced on Canada will grow closer and stronger as years go on." You seem inclined to think that the situation created by the Dingley tariff, combined with the Jubilee fever, will be lasting, and will decide the destinies of this continent.

How often has the action of the great forces, sure in the end to prevail, been suspended, and long suspended, by that of the secondary forces or by adverse accident! How often did the unification of Italy and that of Germany miscarry, though certainly destined at last to arrive! Protectionism will run its course. The Jubilee fever will abate. The time will come when American statesmen, now so indifferent to this question, will see that if it was worth while to spend all that blood and money in averting the establishment of an antagonistic power to your south, it is not less worth while to bestow political effort in averting the establishment of an antagonistic power to your north, and that the British Canadian is at least as desirable a citizen as the Southern white or negro. British statesmen, on the other hand, will learn the hopelessness of their attempt to keep five millions of North Americans out of North America and attach them to Europe. The day will come, though men of my age are not likely to behold it. Already, in spite of all the wrangling among the politicians, the two sections of our race on this continent are rapidly fusing. Hardly anything now divides them but the political and fiscal line.

Yours respectfully, GOLDWIN SMITH.

TORONTO, August 14, 1897.

A NEW PARTY, NO NEW NAME.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A communication in the *Nation* for July 29 suggests the following:

At present the really live question in regard to a political organization is, "Is the National-Democratic party the new party?" If it is, whether that party has taken the name best adapted to its mission is a matter of only secondary importance. The individuals to whom we must largely look for support of "sound" principles are not men who will be greatly influenced by a name; yet, so far as the new party must draw votes rather by the sound of its title than by the sense of its platform, the name "National Democratic" is advisedly chosen. The men who are to compose the new party are, first, the truly independent voters, whose prejudices, if they have any, favor the party name under which they have so long supported Mr. Cleveland; second, the dissatisfied Republicans who leave their party from conviction and are not to be lightly influenced by a mere name; third, Sound-Money Democrats; and, last—other Democrats. In other words, the only men, not distinctly men of conviction, whom the new party can hope to reach are former Democrats; the only men who will at all consider the name adopted at Indianapolis are men who will approve of it.

Those who are dissatisfied with the name "National Democratic" quite generally express themselves as believing that we should have a new party with a new name, as in '54. The "new party" of '54 was a grandchild of the National Republican party of '28, which latter took its name from the old Democratic-Republican party. It is interesting to notice, in this connection, a communication from Cassius M. Clay to the

Republican convention of February 22, 1856. Mr. Clay wrote: "I approve of your central organization of the 'National Republican Association'; and, further: 'We are no new party; we avow no new principles; we want no new name.'"

Respectfully yours,

LLOYD C. WHITMAN.

ANN ARBOR, MICH., August 12, 1897.

PENNSYLVANIA TO DATE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The situation has changed. The Legislature has done its worst and adjourned. Gov. Hastings is now busy counting the spoons. The Combine (spell this with a big "C") has got all there was worth getting, and the anti (little "a") got the rest. The "ripper" bill and the electric-light bill and the Becker bill and the mercantile-tax bill were passed by the Legislature merely to show what the Combine could do if it wanted to, and the Governor has been permitted to veto them to show that there is no real animosity between the different sections of the dominant party. The Republicans simply fulfilled their pledges to the people of the Commonwealth. The Combine took "money out of politics," as Senator Quay's convention last year said it would, and fixed things for "running the State Government on business principles," as the Business Men's League has determined it shall be run. The difference between the political merchant and the mercantile politician may be discovered right here: both of them take money out of politics upon business principles. The Treasury deposits in selected banks are still there, as Quay intended they should be.

But there is more in the situation now than Senator Quay's legislation and the Governor's vetoes. There is a hereafter—almost here. A great many people profess to believe that the State Capitol was burned down for the purpose of destroying the archives containing a lot of investigation material, and the crowd of believers is growing. The Prohibitionists have seized this belief, and, with their characteristic energy, have made a ticket which will assist Mr. Quay by as many votes as they are able to keep away from the consolidated opposition. The Reading convention of nondescript Democrats will meet on the 31st instant, and an attempt will be made to sidetrack the silver issue and put a compromise ticket in the field with a hope that the Sound-Money Democrats will then forego the pleasure of taking an active part in the coming campaign. The result will then be precisely what it has always been when that sort of politics has governed the Democratic party in Pennsylvania. Mr. Quay's ticket will win. "Pap" will again be "vindicated," and there will be no parties worth mentioning in the State except the Combine and the anti next year.

But the situation may change again. Mr. Given is State chairman of the Sound-Money Democratic party, and he has called his executive committee together for September 2, two days after the Reading convention. There will be a gathering at that meeting such as Pennsylvania has seldom seen or heard. No one can tell what the result will be, but if it accomplishes a vigorous call for a convention and the probable nomination of Hon. John C. Bullitt to be State Treasurer, and an equally high-grade Sound-

Money Democrat to be Auditor-General, good people in the Keystone State and in the Union may begin training their voices for the Te Deum. The Reading ticket will have a short spasm of innocuous desuetude and evaporate, and the Prohibition ticket will get its usual harmless vote, but Quay will be beaten, and Mr. Wanamaker's complaints about the corruption fund which the State Treasurers have been accumulating for thirty years will get a popular response of which he did not dream when he made them. The Treasury of Pennsylvania will be reformed by the man who gave Philadelphia the only good charter the city has ever had.

It is inconceivable that the Sound-Money Democrats should fall into the trap which a dodge of the silver question at Reading would set for them. They have nothing to gain from a union of the opposites which form the two discordant elements of partisan Democracy in Pennsylvania. Such a union would simply short-circuit the current and shock everybody within reach of its influence. The real party, which has principles and traditions and a history and priests and bishops of its faith, and a goodly lot of canonized saints, will be a long way better off when it is rid of the element of Populism which threatens its ancient title to respect. It needs, throughout the Union, the courage to trust the people. It can get nothing from any compromise with an untrustworthy element.

But in Pennsylvania there is a foolish hope that some huggermuggery now will open the way to the campaign next year, and the suggestion of a compromise at Reading is born of that hope, and of certain requirements of Philadelphia politics which have no connection with political principles or party traditions. Ever since Sam Randall showed how a Democratic politician could control a Republican congressional district in Philadelphia, political principles there have been regarded as snares and delusions. Only since Mr. Bullitt and Mr. Dickson and Mr. Baer and Mr. Given and Col. Farquhar and others have determined that Populism and tomfoolery shall not dominate the Democracy, has there been a Democratic party in the State worth following. If it now consents to any process that seems to absorb it into the general mass of conglomerates which will assemble at Reading, you will never hear of it again.

If it should turn out that Quay's hand is at the bottom of the suggestion, and that the whole scheme has been concocted to prevent the independent action of the Sound-Money Democracy, to save Mr. Harrity from getting the bag as a member of the Bryanized national executive committee, and to help Quay control Martin in Philadelphia, nobody will be surprised. If it succeeds, every good man who knows anything will be disappointed.

B. C. P.

MEDIA, PA., August 18, 1897.

Notes.

The method of teaching English employed in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology will be set forth in 'Freshman Composition,' by Henry G. Pearson, with an introduction by Prof. Arlo Bates. The publishers are D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

Ginn & Co. have nearly ready a 'Shakspeare Note-book,' designed for advanced courses

in colleges and universities, by Prof. Charles W. Kent of the University of Virginia.

A 'Short History of Rome,' by E. S. Shuckburgh, and a new 'Handbook of European History,' by Arthur Hassall, are in the press of Macmillan Co.

Gen. Sir Henry Norman, formerly Governor of Jamaica, and of Queensland, is engaged in writing his memoirs. Sir Henry's military services in India were very distinguished, and his story should be an interesting one.

Mr. W. M. Griswold has prepared an index to Volumes of Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1871-1897, and (under its former style of the National Teachers' Association) 1857-1870. This volume, of less than a hundred pages, is published by the Association at Chicago. Its classification calls for some study before the seeker can make use of it with confidence, as, for example, if he wishes to turn up the discussions of Luncheons or Promotions, which have no place in the dictionary arrangement. The various speakers, and authorities cited, are duly listed.

'Sound Money Monographs' (G. P. Putnam's Sons), by W. C. Cornwell of Buffalo, is a reprint of speeches and pamphlets by that sound thinker and clear writer. The longest of the series is the monograph of twenty-four pages entitled "Greenbacks," which was published during the campaign of last year and had a large sale. In this incisive document the vices of the existing currency system are set forth in terms that anybody can understand. The definitions are simple, the style easy and engaging, and the argument quite invincible. Mr. Cornwell's brief exposition of the "Money Power" is equally illuminating. He shows that the Money Power consists of all the surplus earnings of all the people, collected together as pools are formed from numerous rills running to a common meeting-place or reservoir. Mr. Cornwell is a believer in the Baltimore plan of banknote issues, with the addition of branch banks under certain restrictions as to capital. Although he is the President of a State bank, he is opposed to the repeal of the 10 per cent. tax on State-bank issues. "To go back twenty-nine years," he says, "and tear down the delicate network of safety which has developed around the National system, and, by a repeal of the 10 per cent. tax, start over again, would be a crude and unwise move, a retrogression, and unnecessary, because every good feature of State-bank issue can be grafted on the strong and efficient trunk of the National system." The book contains 178 pages and has a good index.

Mr. Bernard Bosanquet continues to put the academic world under obligation by enabling it to inform itself of the nature of "university-extension" lectures at their best. He has now followed up the 'Essentials of Logic' by a little book entitled the 'Psychology of the Moral Self' (Macmillan), which purports to give an account of modern psychological conceptions in so far as they appear to have a direct bearing upon ethical problems. In reality, the work is almost wholly psychological in character, and exhibits the author's familiarity with recent psychological speculation. Whether, however, Mr. Bosanquet was well advised to attempt to treat so many difficult and debatable subjects in so brief a compass, is another question altogether.

Part I. of 'Baumwollproduktion und Pflan-

zungswirtschaft in den Nordamerikanischen Südstaaten,' by Dr. Ernst von Halle, has been received from the press of Duncker & Humblot, Leipzig. This is a comprehensive and carefully written monograph, which treats of a subject that has needed, and never received, a thoroughly scientific treatment. Dr. Halle devotes the whole of his first volume to the cotton industry of the Southern States during the period of slave-labor, and promises a second instalment that shall treat of cotton production since the Civil War. Reserving more extended comment until the completion of the work, we may remark that the author has investigated his subject, with the customary German thoroughness, in most of its technical, economic, and political aspects. The careful student of our economic history will find the monograph a mine of information, while other readers will rather be repelled by the wealth of conscientiously elaborated details.

'Die Imperialistische Sozialpolitik: D'Israeli, Napoleon III., Bismarck,' by Georg Adler (Tübingen: Laupp), is a rather interesting comparative study, sketching briefly the socialistic ideas and schemes of the three statesmen named, and leading to the conclusion that "imperial socialism" constitutes an important step towards the enlistment of the proletariat in the ranks of modern society; that it is an illusion, but an illusion of great historical significance. The development of the social movement in England, France, and Germany is also outlined in the fourth lecture of a course delivered in the fall of last year, at Zurich, by Prof. Werner Sombart of Breslau. These lectures are now published and are having a large sale under the title, 'Socialismus und Soziale Bewegung im 19ten Jahrhundert' (Jena: Fischer). The reader who shares Prof. Sombart's view that the modern social movement, in its principal features, is a necessity, that the motto, "War is the common father," applies also to social life, will have to accept his opinion that the social struggle can result in the good of humanity only if it be carried on by lawful and fair means. In an appendix the attempt is made for the first time by the author to present in a synchronistic table the most important dates of the modern proletarian movement (1750-1896).

An Ariadne's thread out of the labyrinth of opinions on "modern" painting is to be found in W. von Seidlitz's two essays on 'Die Entwicklung der modernen Malerei,' forming No. 265 of the well-known series founded by Virchow and Holtzendorff (Hamburg: Verlagsanstalt). Everybody interested in contemporaneous art has some idea of its principal currents, but to form a clear conception of their distinguishing characteristics is a difficult matter, the more so because professional artists are even not disposed, or else not prepared, to help those seeking information. The recent philippic against modern art by A. von Werner in the Berlin Academy, does not lack plainness of speech, to be sure, but Werner's views are not shared by many leading or talented painters of the day. Von Lenbach also has spoken harsh words of similar tenor, but his condemnation is less sweeping, and his position is not hostile to the modern tendency *in toto*. Longer treatises on the question are, of course, not wanting—Carl Neumann's 'Der Kampf um die neue Kunst' has just appeared in its second edition (Berlin: Walther)—but Seidlitz's little work is es-

pecially to be recommended for the conciseness, clearness, and impartiality with which the aims and means of the more original artists, since Manet's discovery (or rediscovery) of the *plein-air* principle, are set forth.

In the San Francisco *Chronicle* of August 1, Mr. Charles F. Lummis makes some highly interesting and authoritative comments on the unofficial report of Prof. Libby's recent exploration of the summit of the Enchanted Mesa in Western New Mexico. This bold sandstone "island" is some 900 feet high and now inaccessible except by balloon, or by line and mortar which Prof. Libby employed. He found nothing that, to his eye, indicated human occupation in past ages, but Mr. Lummis points out the extraordinary effects of subaerial erosion in that region, and the need of aboriginal or expert inspection before the ancient legend of occupation can be discredited. He also shows that one end of the rock has been gullied out to an extent beyond the area required for the largest structure that could have been built on the plateau, so that time may have destroyed the work of man together with the natural foundation.

The *Quarterly Review* for July contains an article on "Henri" Taine. This oft-corrected, still recurrent, blunder is noteworthy in this instance for its pervasive thoroughness. Henri Taine appears on the cover of the review, in its table of contents, in the title and running-title as well as in the body of the article *passim*, and is spread abroad in all the advertisements of the number which have appeared in the newspapers.

M. Bischoffsheim, the Paris banker, everywhere known also as a princely benefactor of astronomy, has just distributed among American astronomers the sixth volume of the *Annales* of the Observatory at Nice, which was founded by his munificence many years ago, and is maintained in charge of M. Perrotin as director. The volume is entirely the work of the assistants of the Observatory, M. Javelle contributing a fine catalogue of nebulae newly discovered with a great 30-inch equatorial; but the volume is for the most part filled with technical detail of observations with the meridian instruments. M. Simonin presents a masterly discussion of the orbit of the small planet Hecuba discovered by Luther at Düsseldorf in 1869, whose interesting peculiarity is that its mean motion is about double that of Jupiter, presenting, therefore, many difficulties inviting the skill of the astronomical geometer; and M. Simonin succeeds in showing clearly that the methods of the new *mécanique celeste*, on account of their simplicity, afford a very close solution of the movement of this little body round the sun.

Literary Americans cannot but take an interest in the fortunes of the great English public school, Christ Hospital, familiarly known as the Blue Coat School. It is some years since the governing body determined to sell their valuable premises in the heart of the city of London, and, like the Charter-house School, to go into the country. It is now arranged that the Prince of Wales shall lay the foundation-stone of the new buildings at Horsham on the 23d of October. The transfer of the school will hardly take place before two years.

Recent transactions in journalistic property in England show that enterprise in newspapers, when in competent hands, leads to wealth on a large scale. A provincial

newspaper, the *Manchester Courier*, with its satellite, the *Manchester Evening News*, has just been successfully launched as a Limited Liability Company, at a valuation of £300,000. Sir George Newnes is converting the hitherto profitable journalistic and publishing company of George Newnes, Limited, into a yet bigger concern, with a capital of £1,000,000. The enterprise was started with *Tit-Bits* in 1881, by the then Mr. Newnes. By degrees the *Strand Magazine*, *Woman's Life*, the *Hub*, and other publications were added to the business. The concern was turned into the existing company in 1891. The profits amounted in 1895 to £57,000, in 1896 to £60,000, in 1897 to £66,000. The one-pound shares, issued at a premium of five shillings, are now worth £2-12-6 each. The *Strand Magazine*, a sixpenny, sells to the number of 400,000 a month, and notoriously has a very large circulation on this side of the water. Sir George Newnes is a remarkable instance of a man's attaining to rank and fortune by self-help. Not so many years ago he kept a small shop in a back street in Manchester. To-day, though only in middle life, he is a baronet of the United Kingdom, and a man of vast wealth. He was a member of the House of Commons, but was defeated at the last general election.

For years past it has been the custom of many booksellers in England to allow to purchasers two pence or three pence in the shilling discount upon the published prices of books. In recent years a long-drawn-out controversy has arisen as to the policy of this system, which is objected to by some of the publishers and by the smaller booksellers, as injurious to the book-trade. The smaller booksellers especially say that they cannot afford to give the discount, which so reduces their income that they have to eke out a living by selling stationery and fancy articles not in the line of an ordinary bookseller's business. The whole matter has just been advanced a stage by the appointment of a sub-committee of the managing committee of the Society of Authors, to examine into the question. This is the result of communications that have passed between the chairman of the Publishers' Association, Mr. Charles Longman, and the chairman of the managing committee, Mr. Rider Haggard. The sub-committee will meet in October. Meanwhile, some publishers have adopted the system of issuing their books at net prices.

For vexatious litigation with a vengeance, commend us to the case of Williams versus Wright, the printer and publisher of the *London Times*, heard in the Queen's Bench division of the High Court of Justice on the 29th of July. The plaintiff, Williams, objects to the provisions of the Sunday observance act, passed in 1781. Avowing himself to have no religious belief, he refused to be sworn. His object in taking the proceedings was, he said, in favor of the utmost liberty being enjoyed by every one on Sundays. So he struck at the act through the *Times* newspaper, on account of an advertisement that appeared in that journal, on the 20th of March last, of a public entertainment or amusement on the Lord's Day. Williams, therefore, sued to recover a penalty of £50 from the defendant, in terms of section 3 of the act. The prosecutor had, however, not taken stock of the facts that on the tickets of admission to the entertainment were printed the words "Admis-

sion free." There was, indeed, a charge for seats; but it was not compulsory to hire a seat. The judge decided against the prosecutor, with costs, holding that "the statute spoke of admission, not to a seat, but to an entertainment." The case was heard by Mr. Justice Collins, who is one of the arbitrators chosen by Great Britain for the disposal of the questions of the boundaries between British Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela.

According to the recently published statistics of population in France, there were in 1895 17,813 more deaths than births in that country. The French are, in fact, the least prolific of all the nations of Europe. The annual number of births per thousand is as follows: Hungary 42.5, Italy 36.6, Germany 36.6, Austria 36.2, Holland 33.8, Great Britain 30.8, Belgium 29.5, Switzerland 28.5, France 22.1. There are other factors, however, which greatly modify this result and render it less unfavorable to France than it appears to be at first sight. Thus, the yearly number of deaths in France is only 23 per thousand, whereas it averages 26 in the rest of central Europe. The average number of children born to a family in France is 2.96, whereas in Germany it is more than 4. In some German cities (in Munich, for example) about one-half of the children die before they are a year old. In France, infant mortality is far less. In France, too, emigration is quite small; in Germany it is very large, and deprives the land of many of its most vigorous inhabitants at a time when they might contribute most to the industrial force and military strength of the nation. Indeed, it is probable that this productive class in France exceeds the same category in Germany.

The Oriental Seminary in Berlin, since its foundation in 1887, has developed a practical side, and is now performing a very useful function in the promotion of foreign trade. It has not only provided competent interpreters for the embassies and consulates of the German Empire in the East, and educated candidates for the colonial service, but it has exerted a decided influence upon German business circles by imparting special instructions to young merchants, bankers, and technologists who wish to engage in commercial or industrial enterprises in Asia and Africa. That a German consul who has received this kind of training has an immense advantage over an American consul who has been appointed to office on account of his efficiency as a "political worker," must be evident even to the most inveterate "spoilsmen." The result is seen in the astonishing growth of German industries and exportations of manufactures within a few years.

Dr. Karl Brockhausen's report on the workings of university extension in Vienna during the last academical year is extremely encouraging. The number of persons attending the different courses of lectures was as follows, the attendance of the year before being given in parenthesis: Medicine, 2,488 (2,238); natural history, 2,624 (1,793); history, 694 (987); history of literature and art, 1,028 (852); law, 373 (229). According to the by-laws of the Association, lectures can also be delivered in the provinces, provided the request be made by private individuals or corporations, and security be given for the payment of the expenses incurred. There were two cases of this kind, one in Krems, under the auspices of the *Volksbildungs-*

verein, and one at Baden (near Vienna), under the dictation of the Catholic *Gesellenverein*. The hearers were encouraged to ask questions, and not only made a liberal and quite profitable use of this privilege, but also showed a surprising degree of intelligence concerning the subjects treated, including geology, geography, astronomy, anthropology, botany, German language and literature, history of the Greek drama, Latin, etc. The course of lectures on physics was exceedingly popular, so that the hall was overcrowded and parallel courses had to be arranged. Dr. Tuma expresses his astonishment at the comprehension of many difficult problems of electro-technics by persons belonging to the working classes; and Prof. Neumann, who lectured on the history of old Christian art, states that he never had more earnest and attentive auditors among the students of the university. An appropriation of 6,000 florins (nearly \$3,000) was made by the Minister of Public Instruction.

In connection with and as a sort of annex to the Catholic University of America at Washington, a woman's college "of the same grade as Vassar," to be known as Trinity College, is to be established under the direction and control of the sisters of Notre Dame, whose mother-house is Namur, Belgium, and who are devoted exclusively to teaching. Sister Julia, Provincial Superior, may be addressed for particulars at K and North Capitol Streets; and endowments are solicited.

—Dr. Murray concludes the third volume of the Oxford English Dictionary, or the 'New English Dictionary on Historical Principles,' with the last instalment of the letter D (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde). He again has "to record the inestimable collaboration of Dr. Fitzedward Hall, whose voluntary labors have completed the literary and documentary history of numberless words, senses, and idioms, and whose contributions are to be found on every page." And another American is singled out among the Readers of the Dictionary, viz., Mr. Albert Matthews of Boston, who has contributed some 28,000 examples. In the section *Doom-Dziggetal, draar*, with its seventeen columns, perhaps claims pre-eminence. We may feel a slight regret that the sense 'to translate' has become obsolete, even if we are not left ill-provided with synonyms for this process. One discerns in Surrey's "translated into English" and drawn into strange metre" an acceptable connotation of workmanship and art. Under the thirtieth division, 'to bring about as a result,' we would fain have seen quoted Milton's "that after no repentance *draus*," as, under *drench* 6, 'to drown,' there would have been place for the preceding line of the same sonnet, "deep thoughts resolve with me to drench in mirth." Those who have enjoyed John Woolman's scrupulous "draught towards the steerage" of his proposed West Indian packet, because of the needless decorations of the poop cabin, will miss the citation of it under *draught*, II. 6, 'inclination, impulse,' though we have there a similar contemporary phrase, "I felt a draught to visit New England." We have often wondered if Dr. Murray had a sufficient Quaker collaboration. *Draught* 46, 'a privy,' would seem to account for *draughty* 3, 'rubbishy, filthy,' all the more because of the date of the sole citation (1602). Hence we should put it first rather than third in the arrangement. It is surprising to find, in the division of mean-

ings for which *draft* has become established over *drought*, how slight is the phonetic inroad—7 for the noun and 3 for the verb *draft* against 46 for the noun and 5 for the verb *drought*. But for Dampier (1697), Washington would be the earliest citation (1756) for *draft* in any sense.

—That the alternative *drouth* for *drought* is maintained, we seem to owe to the poets, who find it handy for rhyming. But these gentry are responsible for more than they may care to be. Tennyson's daring "Little breezes dusk and shiver" (1832) was evidently in Mrs. Randolph's mind when she wrote (1879), "A copse of aspens dusked and shivered near the brink"; but the poetry of the word as applied to something invisible has gone clean out of it. A favorite metaphor of Lowell's is caught in his prose, "The sides of the road were *drifted* with heaps of wild hawthorn and honeysuckle," but missed in his verse (of a little lane), "Its *drift* of noiseless apple-blossoms receives." One might have expected Edward Fitzgerald to figure in illustration of *doubt*, 'to apprehend,' but he was overlooked or crowded out; in this, suffering the fate of words themselves. *Drain* appears in Old English at the end of the ninth century, and then is not heard of again till 1500. Chaucer (1384) uses *duration*, and how could Shakespeare dispense with it? He did, as did men of letters generally after the above date till 1600, when it reappeared. *Double entendre* was good French in 1688, and Dryden uses it, in a purely French context, in 1673. It is common nowadays to rule it out as ungrammatical in favor of *double entente*; but this is not the sole example of obsolete French remaining correct in English. *Dot*, 'dowry,' has superseded *dote*, a sixteenth-century French variant of *dot*; but this might not have happened. In both these cases we may read the spread of a knowledge of the French language among Englishmen. The *dude*, which we in New York gave to the world in 1883, has, we believe, not passed the crisis of obsolescence. Regarding *dough-face*, nothing has been discovered prior to Bartlett's date of 1833; yet the citation from Whittier (1834) speaks of it as already "familiar." Some student of Randolph ought to hound this down. There is no cisatlantic citation for *dragoon*, and it is merely remarked that "in the United States Army the term is not used." True; but those of us who remember the Mexican War have only to turn to Grant's *Memoirs* (ed. 1895), I. 44, where he says of Taylor's army of occupation that, altogether, "it consisted of seven companies of the second regiment of dragoons," etc. In closing, we heartily congratulate Dr. Murray and Mr. Bradley on their new volume. In their next, let them bid their proof-reader render a final *s* to their fellow-lexicographers, Funk & Wagnalls, here twice docked of it.

—With vol. vii. of the 'Jesuit Relations' (Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co.) the narratives enter upon a new phase. Prior to 1635 the missions were so few and struggling that the bulletins of the Superior sufficed to mark the progress made. After this date it was impossible for the official head at Quebec to report from personal knowledge upon all that was being done under his auspices. He continues to act as an editor, but relies more and more on the contributions which he receives from the Huron and Iroquois missions. Identity of training, method of

observation, and aim is seen in the harmonious texture of the piece that was annually sent home. Le Jeune for the present continues to be the central figure, though we are warned by his enthusiastic praise of Brébeuf that the apostle to the Hurons is soon to take a more prominent part. "O l'excellent homme pour ces pays icy que le Père Brébeuf, sa memoire tres-heureuse, sa douceur tres-aymable, seront de grands fruicts dedans les Hurons." The language difficulty remains a prominent feature of Le Jeune's letters, and his own defective memory seems to cause him constant distress. Yet, after his winter with the Montagnais (already partly described in vol. vi.), he is in a position to write more intelligently about their tongue than before. A touch of humor is contained in the statement that he has learned most of the abusive words from their constant application to himself. When not calling him "dog" or "pumpkin-head," they sometimes amused themselves by giving him false information when he asked questions. His Christian retaliation was to correct their extravagant ideas of geography and astronomy; as, for instance, telling them the relative distances of the heavenly bodies, and that the ocean was not full of great cataracts, like Montmorency Falls, which they had supposed must render navigation difficult. Le Jeune's hatred of the Huguenots, to which we have called attention in a previous notice, finds further expression in the second document of this volume, a letter to Richelieu: "Toute la France vous doit sa guérison ayant dissipé le venin qui luy gaignoit le cœur." The third and concluding piece is the beginning of the 1635 Relation. It is more occupied with individual cases of conversion than with ethnology and adventure; but, by comprising Brébeuf's first report from Ihonatiria (to appear in the next instalment), brings us to the central action of the enterprise.

—The reprint of the rare 'Lettre d'un habitant de Louisbourg' (Toronto: William Briggs), edited with an English translation by Prof. George M. Wrong, is an interesting contribution to the sources of our colonial history. It gives the only known French unofficial account of the siege and capture of this place, and, although it has been used by Mr. Parkman and other writers, this is the first time, to our knowledge, that it has been reprinted in its entirety. The writer signs himself "B. L. N.," and is evidently a person of some means, probably a trader, who conceals his identity on account of his severe strictures on the Governor and the French officers. The whole blame of the misfortune is charged to their folly, cowardice, and mismanagement. His comments upon the English are amusing, and at the same time instructive as showing the state of feeling between the two peoples. Of the nation generally he says, "The majority of them are engaged in piracy"; while of the New Englanders he writes, "These singular peoples have laws and a police peculiar to themselves, and their Governor carries himself like a monarch." He accuses Sir William Pepperell of permitting his soldiers to pillage, and adds, "What could we expect from a man who, it is said, is the son of a shoemaker of Boston?" The independent action of the land and sea forces, so great that "one could never have told in fact that these troops belonged to the same nation and obeyed the same prince," is merely one

of the oddities characteristic of the English. "which nevertheless form a part of that precious liberty of which they show themselves so jealous." The writer tells a story of the siege of Annapolis Royal in 1744, which is new to us. The French commander had ordered the Acadians to make ladders to be used in the intended assault and paid them scrupulously for their labor. "The governor of the fort [Paul Mascarene], after our force had retired, told them that since France had paid them for the ladders which they had made, it was proper that England should pay them to destroy them; and in fact they were employed to do this." Prof. Wrong has added some useful notes to his translation, which is excellently done, though at times we detect a tendency to sacrifice the force of the original in order to secure smooth English. It is a sign not only of the progress of historical studies in Canada, but also of the growing intellectual unity of the Dominion, that this edition of a French booklet, primarily concerning Cape Breton, should now be edited, with the assistance of a learned abbé of Quebec, by a professor in Ontario, and published by the Ontario Government (for the letter appears also as an appendix to the report of the Minister of Education for Toronto).

—Readers of Bikelas's 'Tales from the Aegean' (McClurg, 1894) will be interested in the illustrated reissue of the original Greek tales, just published at Athens by Constantinides. Seven Greek artists, among whom the best known are Ralli, the illustrator of 'Louki Laras' (Didot, 1892), and Prof. N. Gyzis of Munich, are responsible for the illustrations, which are ninety-nine in number. The process of reproduction used is a familiar French one, and these same plates figure in a reissue of the French version of these tales by the late Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, which Didot has for some time had in the press. The brightness and delicacy of the Aegean atmosphere seem fairly to glimmer forth from the pages, scattered throughout the book, where Giallinas gives glimpses of Syra and Hermoupolis, a towering Tenioti headland, a steep on the Cretan coast, and other vistas of the isles of Greece. Giallinas has the Aegean Greek's love for his native shores and seas; and it is therefore well that the landscapes of the book are chiefly his, including a remarkably fine drawing of a large stone-pine standing alone (p. 102). With this exception each artist has, in the main, confined himself to a single tale or group of tales. The story of "Philip Marthas," by many regarded as Bikelas's masterpiece, is illustrated by Gyzis, whose original drawings for it figured recently in an exhibition of his works held at Dresden, where they were greatly admired. Among them is a tender and exquisitely Greek vignette of a young mother and her babe, which is also reproduced on the title-page. Here Gyzis expresses the idyllic mood of his theme, but he has concentrated the power and pathos of this wild tale in a strangely beautiful Medusa-like head, representing the overshadowing fate of Philip Marthas. The good-humored comedy of "The Plain Sister" has been a little overstrained in some of Jacobides's illustrations, though in the main he has happily caught its characteristic note of affectionate *bonhomie*. The

closing tale of "The Two Brothers," on the other hand, requires a far more skilled and imaginative treatment than its illustrator, Phocas, can give, and a similar criticism must be passed upon Rigos's illustrations of the breezy sketch of insurrectionary Crete. But Rigos has amply retrieved himself in his genuine interpretation of the sad story of Christos and the mad wolf. Still more remarkable are the drawings of Lytras, which show forth the delicate humor and the pathos of Bikelas's account of "Papás Narkissos." Of Ralli's interpretation of the two remaining tales it is praise enough to say that they show him at his best, and exhibit a draughtsmanship more practised than that of his illustrations to 'Loukl Laras,' long since commended in the *Nation*.

THE GREEK THEATRE.

Das Griechische Theater; Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dionysos-Theaters in Athen und Anderer Griechischer Theater. Von Wilhelm Dörpfeld und Emil Reisch. Athens: Barth & Von Hirst; New York: Lemcke & Buechner.

Dr. Dörpfeld's work has been long expected and will amply repay expectation. It is, first and foremost, the work of an experienced architect and accomplished archaeologist, providing his material from actual observation; it is brimful of the latest and most accurate results of well-directed research. The literary records and evidence concerning the ancient theatre have been already collected and sifted thoroughly. The literary record was, in many respects, extremely confused and confusing; the technical terms, defined by Pollux and others, offered many puzzles and apparent contradictions—they were even more puzzling, perhaps, than the problematical mass of ruins from which the remains of the Dionysiac theatre were exhumed; but, by the light of the extant monuments, Dr. Dörpfeld has succeeded in extracting from all sources a reasonable and luminous history of the evolution of the theatre.

The weightiest and most original contribution in Dörpfeld's work is his architectural history of the Dionysiac Theatre at Athens. The extant remains of this theatre presented in themselves a résumé and epitome of all the steps by which, in the course of half a dozen centuries, the Greek theatre was transformed and developed into the Roman type. To disentangle these remains, to determine the date and function of the different structures and foundations, so inextricably mingled, so misunderstood by previous authorities; to construct from them an intelligible and coherent succession of plans, by the aid of the most recent excavations, was the task which our author has reported and summed up in the admirable plates that accompany this volume. The chapters which follow on the evolution and development of the theatre are a series of corollaries from these researches. They are fortified by comparison with the latest discoveries in other theatres in Greece and Asia Minor.

A fragmentary outline of Dörpfeld's views has already reached the public through various channels, but the details, as drawn from the extant monuments and remains, are very convincing and fascinating; they are so coherent, harmonious, and reasonable that they impress themselves strongly, even without

the support and authority of an accomplished architect and archaeologist. His view, now no longer novel, that the Greek actors appeared not on an elevated stage, but on the floor of the orchestra, is simply a portion of his coherent theory of the historic evolution of the drama and the theatre. Hence a brief sketch of the process of development is necessary to an understanding of the question of the stage.

The germs of the earliest dramatic performance are still to be seen in Greece at the present day. The stranger who visits Megara or Rhodes, on Easter Tuesday, or on any great religious festival, will witness, in one of those native dances which are still kept up by the peasantry, a sort of rehearsal of the earliest form of the chorus and orchestra. The musicians form a centre for the evolutions of the dancers, and for the ring of spectators who range themselves around or avail themselves of any coign of vantage in the neighborhood. The most distinguished personages may be provided with chairs or seats in the front row of the circle. In this familiar scene we have all the elements of the artless performances of the sixth century B. C.—we have the circular orchestra, the musicians who stood upon the steps of an altar or *thymele*, the chorus who sang and danced around them, and the *deuteros*, or onlookers, with the *proedria*, or reserved front seats for officials, or magistrates, or persons of distinction. A single actor, or the leader of the chorus, at times mounted the steps of the altar and filled the pauses of the dance with his recitation. It will be an obvious convenience for the spectators if this festive rite can be displayed at the foot of some sloping hillside.

In the fifth century, these primitive and casual arrangements are improved. The State now takes official notice and charge of the performance and the arrangements. The hillside is artificially prepared by foundations of stone and earth for the reception of wooden seats for spectators; the circular orchestra below is levelled and made of beaten earth for the steps of the dancers. The two or three actors stand in front of a wooden building—called *scena* (*σκηνη*)—which faces the spectators on the other side of the orchestra, and makes a tangent to its circumference. This building serves as a dressing-room for the actors, and in general for their exits and entrances. It serves also as a background for their performances, being provided with projecting wings on the left and right, between which is set up a movable decorative wall, called a *proscenium*. The *scena* has one or more doors through which the actors make their exits and entrances, except when they are supposed to come from the city, or from a distance. In this latter case, they use the same passages (*parodoi*) which the chorus and the spectators use—passages leading on each side of the *scena* into the orchestra.

In exceptional cases, the actors make their appearance on the roof of the *proscenium*, when, for example, they impersonate a deity, or are supposed to speak from the balcony of a house or the battlements of a city. The *locus* of the actors is now transferred from the altar to the *scena*; they emerge and speak from it (*ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς*), or they stay near and in front of it (*ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ*), but they move freely on the floor of the orchestra. The wall of the *scena* had three doors, probably, but the *proscenium*, which

masked it, varied according to the scene to be represented. In the heyday of the drama, the period of Æschylus, of Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, the *proscenium* is a movable scenic or decorative front of the *scena*, built of wooden columns with painted panels between. These panels may be shifted so that the *proscenium* suggests a temple, the walls of a city, a rustic landscape with grotto, a royal palace, a dwelling-house, or a row of dwellings, according to the requirements of the particular performance.

The *scena* building is one story high, unless the exigencies of the play require the temporary erection of a second story. In the fourth and later centuries, the increasing vogue of Menander and the domestic comedy (which Plautus and Terence represent), imparted a fixed character to the *proscenium*; it regularly represented the vestibule or façade of a dwelling, or of several dwelling-houses. It could, therefore, assume a permanent type; and it was, accordingly, together with the *scena*, built of stone, its decorative columns replacing the wooden posts of the earlier shifting contrivance, its height remaining from ten to twelve feet, the width of its roof from eight to ten feet or thereabouts. At this conventional house-front, which is clearly indicated in the remains at Epidaurus and elsewhere, the actors continued to make their exits and entrances. Its doors opened on the street, i. e., on the level of the orchestra, and on this level the actors stood, as in the earlier period.

Such, at least, is the contention of Dörpfeld, and it looks eminently reasonable. It is a logical sequence of the development of the theatre, which we have just lightly sketched. It did not present itself first to him as part of an *a priori* theory, but as an architectural fact among the ruins of the Dionysiac theatre—a fact which was quite unaccountable according to existing opinions. Yet these opinions were based on the distinct statement of Vitruvius, a professional architect writing in or near the time of Augustus, and accompanying his article on the theatre by exact mathematical measurements. In this treatise he expressly states that the Greek theatre had a stage, and that its height was not less than ten nor more than twelve feet; and he seems to say, almost as explicitly, that the actors performed on this stage.

This is certainly a staggering statement, and requires an array of stark facts to controvert it. "It is absurd to suppose," says the article in Harper's recent 'Dictionary of Antiquities,' "that Vitruvius could have made a blunder in writing about the Greek theatre of his own day." Many distinguished French and German Hellenists are struck with this same absurdity. Mr. Haigh, among English scholars, accepts the dictum of Vitruvius, with some modifications which he proposes for the fifth century. Within a few years, the French at Delos and the English at Megalopolis thought they had found crucial evidence in inscriptions and in a stage structure to confirm the Vitruvian prescription. Our American archaeologists, on the other hand, have generally supported Dr. Dörpfeld's contention; and among these we have had occasion to notice the useful contributions by Prof. John Williams White and Prof. Edward Capps to the discussion of the evidence afforded by the dramas. The controversy, therefore, be-

came, in an esoteric way, an international question. It would be quite impossible to present even a summary of the array of arguments which Dr. Dörpfeld marshals; but a few of them, after the sketch we have given, will be interesting and perfectly intelligible.

In the first place, assuming Vitruvius to be correct, no one who accepts his statement has ever pretended to explain why the Greeks, who were reasonable and practical people, should have been so absurd as to mount their actors on a narrow shelf, which had to be climbed by a staircase of some twenty steps, and from which they must have talked with the chorus as people call from an upper story of a house to their friends on the next floor below. Dr. Dörpfeld says that this curious, high, narrow ledge *was*, in fact, an upper story, viz., the roof of the proscenium, which an actor did occasionally mount if he was to gaze from city walls or to climb a roof, like the escaping disciples of Socrates in the "Clouds," or to pose as a deity declaiming from the skies. In such rare instances an actor might stand quiet and keep his head, notwithstanding the inconvenience of being hampered with a mask and with high-soled boots; in other instances and for ordinary purposes, Dörpfeld asserts that such a ledge is an impossible position for an actor wearing a mask and using the free and vehement action which experts agree in attributing to the performers in tragedy as well as comedy.

If we ask how could the people see the actors without a stage, Dörpfeld makes a very ingenious and obvious reply. It is simply this: If your spectators sit on a level, a stage of moderate height is necessary; if, on the contrary, they sit on ascending tiers of seats, as in the Greek theatre, a stage is unnecessary, is even undesirable and objectionable. The higher it is, the more objectionable; in fact, for the nearer spectators it will defeat its own object. This is a mere question of optics and mathematics. A moment's reflection and calculation will show that if the stage is ten feet high and ten feet wide, a spectator ten feet away will lose sight entirely of an actor standing at the rear of the stage; spectators at a greater distance are at a less disadvantage, but all spectators near by are inconvenienced by this elevation instead of being helped by it. On the other hand, the rising tiers of seats remove the necessity of such an elevation. The spectator sees over his neighbor's head, and looks down across the wide orchestra with perfect ease and clearness.

Our author offers an ocular proof of this in a photograph taken at the theatre of Eretria. In this view more than fifty people are standing distributed over the orchestra and close to the scena wall. Every one of these is distinctly and separately visible, without crowding or confusion. Perhaps the picture would have been still more convincing if it had been taken from a lower point, with an experimental arrangement of chorus and actors. Only the spectators in the very lowest and foremost row of seats could have any difficulty in distinguishing the actors and the members of the chorus. Even here, as Dr. Dörpfeld observes, the vision is assisted and the distinction made clear by the varied costumes of the actors, and, in tragedy, by the elevation due to the *coturnus*.

Another weighty fact, the significance of

which has been imperfectly understood, is remarked by Dr. Dörpfeld. The outer boundary of the Roman *cavea* for spectators forms a semicircle; the Greek *cavea* is extended beyond a semicircle, in lines which are not a continuation of the original circle, but are struck from new centres, and give an elliptical or horse-shoe shape to the *cavea*. The object of this arrangement is generally said to be to increase the seating capacity of the theatre, and this is, in some cases, true as far as it goes. But there is another object which is strikingly evident and practical when once pointed out. This arrangement enables the spectators at each end of the horse-shoe to look on without inconvenience; moreover, if we draw and plot out the "lines of sight" for spectators near the extremities (choosing, for example, the actual curves of the theatres at Athens or Epidauros), we shall find that these lines converge toward points between the centre of the orchestra and the front of the proscenium. The conclusion from this is obvious, viz., that the action must have taken place in front of the proscenium, that the arrangement of the curves was designed to favor the spectators' view of the portion of the orchestra lying between its centre and the proscenium; for a view of the proscenium itself the curve is extremely awkward, and would oblige the sitters to turn half-way round. If, on the other hand, the actors had stood on a stage situated as Vitruvius prescribes, a simple semicircle would have given all the spectators desirable seats and points of view.

It seems an astounding and improbable thing that an architect writing professionally about the theatre, and with the object of giving practical instructions for building, should commit such a mistake. We must, however, remember, says Dörpfeld, that he was a Roman architect writing about Greek theatres. He may never have seen a performance in a Greek theatre; he was familiar only with the Roman type, which always possessed the elevated stage. He had before him undoubtedly plans and dimensions of Hellenistic theatres; his data in regard to these are, on the whole, accurate. But he looked for an equivalent of the Roman stage, and he found it, as he thought, in the Greek proscenium, with its narrow ledge of roofing. The dimensions of this are exactly what he gives for the Greek *logeion*, or stage. He may have been further misled by the wording of his Greek sources; in these the actors would be said to stand *ἐνί σκηνῆς*, an expression which he would render in Latin by *in scena*, "on the stage"; whereas Dörpfeld's discussion of the whole subject proves it to mean *close to or in front of the actor's quarters*.

The evidence which will induce one to accept this explanation in face of such an authority as Vitruvius must be very weighty and convincing, and, in fact, it is the cumulative mass of all the architectural facts presented in the extant theatres, fortified by the literary testimony of the plays themselves, which Dörpfeld arrays against the Roman writer. Discussed piecemeal and in a scattered way, as they have been hitherto, the word of the ancient architect might seem irrefragable against this or that particular bit of testimony; but the entire mass is so serried, so coherent, that, to our minds, it overbears and countervails the ancient authority completely. It is entirely convincing, though we confess that for years

we have maintained hitherto a sceptical suspense. We are the more convinced because this theory fits in satisfactorily with so many facts and illuminates so many obscurities. It fits to a nicety the facts of the extant dramas; it explains such puzzles as the diversity of meaning attached to *thymele* and orchestra, applied to both stage and arena.

Mr. Haigh and others have made an apparently strong point in the evidence of certain vases from lower Italy, which seem to represent scenes from Greek comedy, performed on an elevated stage. They argue that these vases are evidence of the custom, borrowed by the Greeks of Magna Græcia from the mother country. The evidence of this character and of other extant monuments, such as bas-reliefs and Pompeian wall-paintings, is very fully discussed in an interesting chapter by Emil Reisch. He shows that the *kratres* from Ruvo, from Bari, and Lentini are really evidence of the local farces or burlesques which were indigenous in lower Italy, and were reduced to literary form more especially by Rhinthon in the fourth century. These "fooleries" were burlesques of tragic subjects, and were performed by actors solely, without a chorus, in local theatres where the spectators sat on a level floor and required the aid of an elevated stage. The same requirements would give rise to the same expedient wherever the same conditions existed; and such conditions might, of course, sporadically have existed in a few spots in Greece proper, though of such places we have no information. The testimony of these vases is therefore good for the region in which they are found, and for the period which they cover, i. e., from the end of the fourth to the second century B. C. The number of steps in the ladder, or staircase, by which the stage is reached is anywhere from four to eight. This again indicates a height approaching that of a Roman pulpitum. The vases have a real interest and value, as recording certain steps in the development of the Italian theatre, which doubtless had its influence on the Roman type. The information from Pompeian paintings is much less definite and trustworthy. In this case we have to deal with the whim and fancy of the painter and his decorative purpose; when we make allowance for this, we can extract no secure evidence, except such as is supported by architectural facts of the extant remains.

It follows from the sketch we have given that there is no logical connection between the Greek proscenium and the Roman stage (pulpitum). The latter is not derived from the former by the discovery on the part of the Romans that the Greek proscenium was too high and impracticable, and that a platform wider and half as high would be much more convenient. So elementary an observation was not reserved for the Roman mind to make. On the contrary, the Roman stage and all the structural deviations of the Roman theatre are evolved by practical necessity from the simple process of dividing the orchestra, and depressing that portion of its floor which was nearest the spectators. The comedy of Plautus and of Terence—the comedy of domestic life and manners, which is the forerunner of Molière and Congreve and Wycherley—dispensed with the chorus. As soon as the chorus disappeared from the drama, a portion of the orchestra circle became no longer needful for its occupation

and evolutions. The depression of one portion of the floor has for its correlative the moderate elevation of the other part, which becomes the Roman stage. The Roman stage retains for its background the decorative wall of the Greek proscenium. The actors continue to stand in front of this, and in the same general relation to the spectators and the scena building which they originally had in the Greek theatre. The structural peculiarities of the Roman building follow necessarily from this one fact of the disuse and the depression of one portion of the orchestra, and its conversion to other purposes; hence the vaulted passageways leading into this part of the orchestra and to the cavea, and the disappearance or transformation of the original *parodoi*.

The height of their stage is that of the line of sight of the foremost spectators, and is rigidly confined to this reasonable figure. Other structural changes follow necessarily from the roofing-in of the whole building and placing it under cover. The simplicity and the logical necessity of these changes are strikingly shown by some simple diagrams, which illustrate the transition of the Greek theatre proper to the types of the theatre at Aspendus or Assus, and in Pompeii. In Italy, the superfluous portion of the orchestra is devoted to seats for senators and magistrates. In Asia Minor and at Athens it becomes an arena or *conistra* for gladiatorial combats.

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Student's American History. By D. H. Montgomery. Ginn & Co. 1897.

History of the United States. By W. A. and A. M. Mowry. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. 1897.

About thirteen years ago Mr. Horace E. Scudder published a history of the United States for the use of schools. In spite of occasional indistinctness of outline, and a style rather more elementary than some teachers thought necessary, the substantial merits of the book were soon recognized, and it has continued to hold its own as one of the best of elementary text-books. Mr. Scudder has now published a 'New History of the United States,' modelled, he tells us, on the same general lines as the earlier work, but with fuller treatment and somewhat different emphasis. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the later volume is its arrangement. All of the history preceding the fall of Quebec is treated as merely introductory, the six chapters occupying less than one-fourth of the text, while the succeeding events are grouped, as in the earlier work, in two periods, with the close of the second war with Great Britain as the dividing line. Two supplementary chapters deal with the preparation in Europe for the discovery and occupation of America, and the physical features of the continent. While the plan, in these respects, is not entirely novel, its advantages, in the way of a rational topical treatment of the subject, are considerable. The human element in the narrative is emphasized by the special attention paid to biography, reinforced by a wealth of portraits. Another notable feature is the frequent reference to poems, novels, biographies, and other pieces of literature illustrative of periods and events; in this respect, indeed, nothing quite so good has yet come to our notice.

The volume is profusely and excellently illustrated, and provided with numerous maps; the illustrative material being reproduced, for the most part, from the earlier book. Finally, Mr. Scudder has equipped his book with a "pedagogical apparatus" of discriminating questions, theme subjects, and topics for debates, besides topical analyses, chronological tables, and a copious index. One does not look for fresh facts or original comments in an elementary manual, and Mr. Scudder has attempted nothing of the sort; he has, however, written simply and carefully, and with an effectiveness which betrays the hand of a practised writer. Altogether, this 'New History' has many points of superiority to any similar text-book which we now recall.

There has certainly long been need of a volume which should do for American history what Gardiner's 'Student's History' has done for the history of England. We cannot think that Mr. D. H. Montgomery's 'Student's American History' has supplied the lack, but the volume is, nevertheless, a useful addition to the small number of commendable text-books in its field. In plan it is similar to the same author's 'Leading Facts of American History,' which has, we believe, met with favor as a text-book for preparatory schools; the present work is larger, however, and covers the subject more in detail. Its merits are clear arrangement, good proportion, and judicious emphasis; its especial weakness is its style, which seems to us to "discount" pretty heavily the literary appreciativeness of the young people who are likely to use the book. The narrative is brought down to the close of Cleveland's second administration. A feature unusual in elementary manuals is the frequent reference to authorities for important statements in the text, although the citations themselves are mercifully transferred to the end of the volume. There are useful appendices and a good index; some of the maps, however, with their solid patches of black and white, strike the eye unfavorably.

A less ambitious, but, on the whole, more successful work is the Messrs. Mowry's 'History of the United States.' It is intended for schools, and, while presenting no points of marked originality, has the merits of simplicity, directness, and balance that one expects to find in a well-constructed text-book, and is worthy of the attention of teachers. The volume is liberally, though not very well, illustrated, and is equipped with useful maps, those in colors being taken from MacCoun's 'Historical Geography of the United States.'

In two respects recent writers of text-books in American history show intimations of relative perfection: their statements are generally accurate, and their sense of proportion good. What they signally fail to do, it seems to us, is to make it appear that the events they narrate were, after all, particularly worth while. In formal construction, as well as in truthfulness and balance, each of the above works has some superior virtues, but neither of them has succeeded in investing the subject with a living interest. The crucial point, of course, is the anti-slavery struggle; and it may as well be said at once that no one is likely to get any vivid impression of the importance of that movement by reading what any one of these authors has to say about it. Mr. Scudder and Mr. Montgomery, in a com-

mendable effort to be impartial, have limited themselves to a somewhat meagre chronicle of events, perhaps with the idea that the teacher will provide the skeleton with flesh and blood; the Messrs. Mowry follow the same course, though less successfully. No doubt a judicious treatment of the slavery controversy, especially in a school-book, offers difficulties, but we are not yet prepared to think them insuperable. The history of the United States shows three great phases—the struggle for territorial possession, the struggle for national independence, and the struggle for moral consistency. Of these three, the last is the greatest; but where is the writer who shall make this clear to American youth?

Citizen Bird. By Mabel Osgood Wright and Dr. Elliott Coues. Macmillan. 1897.

We have here an extremely praiseworthy attempt to teach children about our domestic birds, by encouraging them to observe the living creature rather than the inanimate "specimen" from whom death has taken every personal quality but beauty. Upon the slender thread of a story, in which a naturalist shows some girls and boys how to "name all the birds without a gun," the authors hang a great number of interesting and easily remembered facts, while carefully selecting from our Northern fauna only such birds as are most familiarly seen and easily identified. For instance, in this latitude the fish crow is a not uncommon bird, but hard to distinguish from the common crow, which outnumbers him a thousand to one; the sharp-tailed finch is not unlike the grass finch; the white-eyed vireo is hard to tell from the red-eyed vireo, the black-billed from the yellow-billed cuckoo, and the short-billed marsh wren from the long-billed. So the child is spared the doubt of a perfect identity, impossible to establish with the eye alone, by omitting a discussion of the variation of species, which would tend to puzzle and discourage him. The physiology of the bird and its analogy to that of mammals are simply and entertainingly explained, and all the significance of its life—food, nesting, song, migration—and the especial traits of the various "guilds" of water birds, tree-birds, sky-birds, and "cannibals," that go to make up "bird citizenship," are exhibited in a manner to bring them within the range of human sympathy. Above all, the book is meritorious in aiming to foster appreciation of the services and beauty of the most amiable and blameless creatures in the animal creation, and to reinforce the protest against their wanton destruction, of which, strangely enough, amiable and blameless women and children are the principal cause. The recent Massachusetts law protecting insectivorous birds from the ravages of milliners is a great step forward; but in the absence of laws suppressing the wide commerce in birds' eggs and skins, which goes on between dealers and boys with "collections," this book has a most useful mission. More than a hundred accurate and spirited illustrations by Louis Agassiz Puertes add greatly to the attractiveness of the volume.

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